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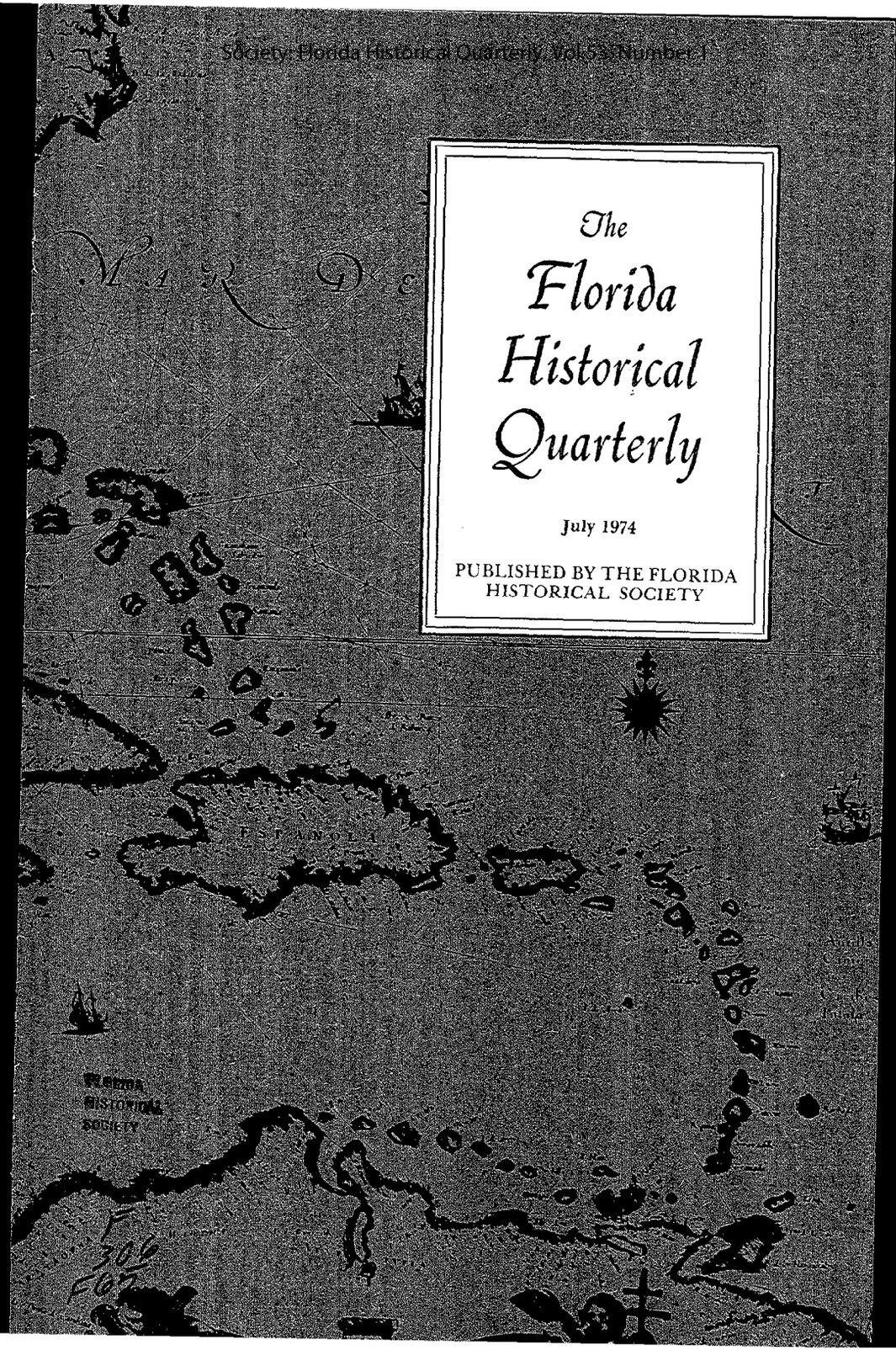

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COVER

Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571-1638) drew this early seventeenth century map, "Insulae Americanae in Oceano Septentrionali cum Terris adiacentibus." It first appeared in *Le Théatre du Monde, ou Nouvel Atlas,* published in Amsterdam in 1644. In 1596 Willem had founded a family firm of map-makers which gained international fame and brought him appointment as cartographer to the Dutch Republic.

This map is an original in the collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. It shows Mexico, the Caribbean area, the Gulf of Mexico, and Florida as far north as thirty-eight degrees. Spanish names are used entirely.

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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Box 14045, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32604.

The *Quarterly* is interested in articles and documents pertaining to the history of Florida. Sources, style, footnote form, originality of material and interpretation, clarity of thought, and interest of readers are considered. All copy, including footnotes, should be double-spaced. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively in the text and assembled at the end. Particular attention should be given to following the footnote style of the *Quarterly*. The author should submit an original and retain a carbon for security. The Florida Historical Society and Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* accept no responsibility for statements made by contributors.

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BOOK REVIEWS

DEFEAT IN VICTORY: YANKEE EXPERIENCE IN EARLY CIVIL WAR JACKSONVILLE

by RICHARD A. MARTIN*

IT IS something of an irony that Jacksonville, a sleepy town removed from the major centers of agitation prior to the Civil War, was affected so directly by the passions raging across the land. Jacksonville was settled by people from all parts of the country, many of whom earned a living catering to a cosmopolitan mix of travellers, including many from foreign lands. With a resident population about one-third southern, one-third northern, and one-third slave, Jacksonville was, in effect, a kind of national microcosm where the prevailing political controversies were acted out to their logical and disastrous ends.

The experiences of Otis Little Keene are a case in point. His diaries and journals record the tragedy of a Northerner torn between childhood loyalties and newfound life and friends in a southern town, who found himself unable to control events and who ultimately was forced into a course of action he neither planned nor desired.[1]

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* Mr. Martin is a professional writer in Jacksonville and the author of several historical works including *The City Makers* and *Consolidation: Jacksonville, Duval County, The Dynamics of Urban Political Reform*. He has also written histories of Silver Springs and Jacksonville's St. Luke's Hospital.

1. The Keene collection consists of thirty-two volumes. One is a diary by Waite Wadsworth Keene, father of the subject, which records events in Bremen, Maine, for the years 1848-1853. Another is a scrapbook which contains nothing of historical value. A third volume is a journal in which Keene tells of a trip from Washington to Bremen in 1864, carrying home the body of a brother killed in action with the 20th Maine Regiment. A fourth volume contains various records pertaining to Keene's management of the Judson House in Jacksonville during the years 1856-1862 and miscellaneous cash records to 1866. The remaining twenty-eight volumes are diaries for the years 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1880, 1881-1886, 1887, 1888, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1903, 1905, 1908, 1909, and 1910. Keene left five diaries to friends, according to his will in Probate Records, Duval County Courthouse; and it is likely that his wife passed others along to heirs named in her will, which would account for some of the missing years. See files 3623-D and 3624-D in Estate Administration Department probate records, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville.

Born at Bremen, in Lincoln County, Maine, May 23, 1830, Keene was the third of six children. His parents were Huldah Twuant and Waite Wadsworth Keene.[2] As a child he wandered over the area of Lake Webber, near which the family farmstead overlooked fields of corn and barley and forests of aspen, birch, oak, maple, and ash. But the sea called to him strongly, and on September 12, 1848, he left home to work in W. S. Southard's grocery store in the seaport town of Damariscotta, Maine. Five years later, almost to the day, Keene was initiated into Alna Lodge 46 of the Masonic Order, in Damariscotta, beginning a lifelong interest in masonry which eventually earned him the highest honors as a thirty-third degree mason, and Grand Commander (in 1904) of the Grand Commandery of Florida.[3]

It was Keene's interest in masonry which led him to Florida. On June 24, 1854, he left Maine for his first trip South, as part of a delegation from Alna Lodge attending a masonic convention in Richmond, Virginia. More than half a century later Keene still remembered that trip fondly; and it is likely that when he returned home that summer thoughts of a move to the South entered his mind for the first time.[4] One of his friends in Damariscotta was A. Judson Day, a businessman who at that time was involved in completing construction of a hotel in Jacksonville. Keene talked with Day, negotiated a job, and on September 26, 1855, was sailing from Maine for Jacksonville and a position as manager of the Judson House, at that time the newest, largest, and most luxurious hotel in Jacksonville.[5]

It is said that Day built the Judson House for $125,000, which would have represented an enormous investment in antebellum Jacksonville.[6] The scope of Day's venture is illustrated by the fact that Northeast Florida's first planing mill was established in 1852 by John Clark when he secured the contract to provide the lumber required to construct the Judson House.[7] The hotel

2. Jacksonville *Metropolis,* September 26, 1910; Diaries, 1909 appendix.
3. Diaries, September 12, 1868; September 12, 1908; September 16, 1903; Jacksonville *Metropolis,* September 26, 1910.
4. Diaries, June 24, 1908.
5. Jacksonville *Metropolis,* September 26, 1903.
6. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (St. Augustine, 1925; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 486.
7. Wanton S. Webb, ed., *Webb's Historical, Industrial and Biographical Florida,* Part I (New York, 1885), 135. Dressed lumber was available prior to this date, but it was prepared by hand locally. Some planed lumber also was shipped in by sea.

opened in November 1854, and, according to Keene, "It was 136 feet front on Bay Street and 136 on Julia, four stories high. It contained 110 sleeping rooms, two fine parlors, reading room, spacious office, and dining room 80 x 40 feet, and all the necessary appointments for an up-to-date hotel at that time. It had two piazzas, lower and upper, on both fronts, making over 500 feet of piazza front. The ground below Bay Street, on the river-front, also belonged to the hotel, and was used as a garden to grow vegetables."[8]

Keene was a bachelor of twenty-five when he arrived in Jacksonville, October 5, 1855. The town at that time had a population of less than 2,000, but already had developed a modest reputation as a resort for health-seekers, invalids, and the hardier breed of tourists and sportsmen. The Crespo House, Buffington, and Taylor House vied with the Judson House for this transient trade, but the latter was by far the most popular. It also was one of the single most valuable business properties in Jacksonville, a town which could boast of only nine brick business structures, one of which (the Sammis Block) housed the rooms of the city government and the customs house. The only public building was the courthouse, a two-story wood structure on the northeast corner of Forsyth and Market. There was also a small brick building, called the Jug, which served as a jail. The post office operated out of a small building which actually was Postmaster William Grothe's jewelry store. Mail was delivered twice weekly by steamboats operating out of Charleston and Savannah, and a stage line offered overland services twice weekly to Tallahassee. These routes, Keene later recalled, were "the only way to arrive or depart from here North, unless one chose to walk."[9]

Keene did not regard Jacksonville as a particularly attractive town. There were few fine residences, and sand predominated, soft and deep in the broad streets, and on dry days teams of oxen and horses kicked up dusty clouds which settled like fine powder everywhere. Despite this, Keene later recalled, "Not much attention was given to flower gardens or grass lawns. Most of the dwellers cut all the grass up to the sand, so that snakes could not get in the yards." But the broad, boulevard-like ex-

8. Jacksonville *Metropolis,* December 12, 1908.
9. Ibid.

panse of the main thoroughfares, lined in places with oaks and magnolias, redeemed the drab landscape. Lush groves of trees served both as civic ornaments and recreation areas. Bay Street parted to pass around each side of one such grove, between Liberty and Washington Streets, and there, on July 4, 1856, there was a grand Independence Day celebration with Colonel J. C. Hemming as featured orator.[10] The occasion was typical of local amusements. "The people were refined, hospitable and social. 'Picnics,' 'marooning' in the summer, dances, oyster-roasts in the winter, pleasures which all could partake of were frequent," a contemporary wrote of the times.[11]

As manager of the Judson House, Keene drew a salary of $35.00 a month in 1855 and 1856. This was raised to $50.00 in 1857, and to $70.00 the following year. It was enough to support a wife; and on June 15, 1858, Keene married Abbie Hurd Dunham, formerly of Vinland, New Jersey. A month later, Mrs. Keene was on the Judson House payroll as housekeeper at a salary of $30.00 per month. With a combined income of $1,200 annually, excluding commissions and earnings on investments, the Keenes could consider themselves among Jacksonville's most affluent families.[12] They were also fortunate in other respects. Management of Jacksonville's leading hotel conferred considerable prestige in the business community, and apparently the Keenes were well-received socially.

Keene was a charter member of the exclusive Jacksonville Light Infantry, organized April 30, 1859. Commanded by Dr. Holmes Steele, Jacksonville's physician-mayor, the Light Infantry's roster included scions of some of the town's leading families. Northern members included a number of the wealthiest and most successful business and professional men in town, most of whom served in the ranks.[13] Years later, Keene recalled: "Our

10. *Ibid.*
11. Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Sun*, January 22, 1876.
12. Miscellaneous Record Book, 1856-1866. Keene's investments included money-lending. In 1861 he held notes totaling $512.17 for loans to T. O. Holmes, Dr. W. M. Bostwick, Lodwick Warrock, and J. A. Peden.
13. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 26, 1908, contains a letter from Keene written to Captain Mellen C. Greeley, when the latter was attempting to reorganize the Light Infantry. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 458-59, bases his antebellum sketch of the unit on this letter, but through an obvious typographical error lists the founding year as 1857. Dr. Holmes Steele, founder of the Light Infantry, did not come to

armory was in a hall in a frame building that stood just east of the . . . Judson House [north side of Bay, between Hogan and Julia streets] where we met and drilled. Our favorite place for drilling was in a grove of trees between Hogan and Laura on Forsyth Street. We had handsome uniforms, coat of blue cloth, with three rows of brass buttons in the front, and high caps with black pompons, also white pants in warm weather, other times blue."

The first street parade was July 4, 1859. The men marched to East Jacksonville, where they participated in target practice for two hours. "It was a hot July day, and with our heavy coats and guns, you can imagine that we looked and felt as though we had been in a bath, but we all enjoyed it." According to Keene, the ladies of Jacksonville in May 1860, "made us a beautiful silk flag. It was presented . . . with a fine speech that Capt. Steel *[sic]* responded to in his usual fine manner, after which we marched to a boat at Bisbee and Canova's dock, and went to Clifton . . . where we had target practice and lunch. . . . On our return to the city we paraded the streets as we felt proud of our beautiful flag."[14]

In January 1861, after Florida seceeded, Governor John Milton ordered the company to duty. "A detachment was sent to St. Augustine under Sergt. [John B.] Oliveros and others, who got four 32-pound guns out of the old fort, put them on log carts and brought them to . . . Mayport on a high sand dune at the mouth of the run, so-called, where they were placed in a fort which the company constructed under the direction of Capt. John L'Engle, a retired U.S.A. officer." Keene noted that at the time, "from just below Mayport to the mouth of the creek was a ridge of sand dunes, in some places 25 feet high, covered with palmetto and other growth, and the run was a deep creek that

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Jacksonville until 1858. See Webster Merritt, *A Century of Medicine in Jacksonville and Duval County* (Gainesville, 1949), 51. See also probate records in File 1916-D, Holmes Steele, Estate Administration Department, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville. These records reveal that Steele purchased cloth for uniforms, belts, buttons, boots, pistols, and other equipment in connection with the Light Infantry in the period July-October 1859.

14. The flag presented to the men in 1860 was a battle flag, with the words "Let Us Alone" embroidered on it in the manner of the Florida flag of 1845. The ladies of Jacksonville also presented the unit with a Confederate flag in 1861. Merritt, *Century of Medicine*, 52; Richard A. Martin, *The City Makers* (Jacksonville, 1972), 28-29, 32, 37.

went up to and just behind the lighthouse. The company was ordered to Fort Steel *[sic]* in detachments until about April, when they were all ordered there [to stand guard against the Union naval blockade]. . . . The only time that the long roll was beaten was when a big pile of brush came drifting in with the tide one night, as the sentinel thought it was a launch from the *Wabash* [Federal warship] . . . and gave the alarm. We were all called out and drawn up in line on the beach to give the invaders a warm welcome. When it was near enough we saw it was only a pile of brush. . . . The worst enemies we met were the mosquitoes and sand flies."[15]

Keene's political leanings were not yet well-defined. It is likely that he had mixed emotions about secession, as did many others in Jacksonville. Although his roots and family were in the North he was building a new life for himself in the South. When track was completed on the *Florida, Atlantic & Gulf Central Rail-Road* between Jacksonville and Lake City on March 13, 1860, a series of celebrations followed, including excursions aboard the new line for the people of the two towns. These festivities were highlighted by a ceremony at the Judson House, attended by a number of dignitaries, in which two southern ladies mingled the waters of the St. Johns River and Lake DeSoto, symbolizing the bond the rails had created between the two Florida communities.[16]

The changing political climate in Jacksonville was clearly revealed on May 15, 1860, less than two months after the railroad ceremony. On that date local Democrats staged a mass meeting in town, declaring: "we are of the opinion that the rights of the citizens of Florida are no longer safe in the Union and we think that she should raise the banner of secession and invite her Southern sisters to join her."[17]

A few months later, in October 1860, Captain Steele of the Jacksonville Light Infantry, published an appeal for volunteers: "The times, gentlemen, are ominous; and while viewing the signs, let us in peace prepare for war, for though no evil may come, yet it is the imperative duty of the state to arm."[18] As

15. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 26, 1908.
16. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, December 12, 1908.
17. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 41-42.
18. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, October 26, 1860.

tensions mounted "the bitterness of the slaveholders became daily more evident," a Jacksonville Unionist observed. But he added that it was not until after Lincoln's election, November 7, 1860, that "the more bitter and violent of the slaveholders and politicians began to use their influence . . . to arouse . . . the more inflammable portion of the people."[19]

Although life became uncomfortable for northern Unionists, it remained bearable as long as a "sensible majority" existed in Jacksonville opposed to secession. But this faction was thoroughly intimidated after Florida seceded January 10, 1861 and from that time on, change came swiftly. Unionists no longer dared to speak their minds as a "reign of terror gained full swing" against them. Some who expressed their convictions privately to friends found themselves openly denounced and betrayed when those confidants found it expedient to cross the line. Others who kept quiet soon found that "silence was a crime." It was not enough to be non-commital; a man had to declare his loyalty to Florida or suffer the consequences.[20]

In January 1861, the Jacksonville Light Infantry entered state service, carrying Keene along with the others to Fort Steele. There is no way of knowing whether Keene was merely engaging in a subterfuge for survival, out of fear for his own and his wife's safety or because he sought to protect the Judson House. But, he stood shoulder-to-shoulder with his comrades when, by his own account, they readied their guns to fire on an invader they belived to be a Federal vessel. It seems likely that whatever his feelings, Keene for the moment had been swept along by a tide of events and circumstances too strong to resist, and that partly out of preference he had cast his lot with his southern friends.

By Keene's own admission, it was not until August 1861, when the Light Infantry was mustered into the Confederate States Army as Company A, 3rd Florida Infantry, that he made any move to disassociate himself from the Confederate cause. Even then, his reasons for doing so were not political. He resigned, he said, "because I could not close my hotel." And he left

19. Calvin L. Robinson, "An Account of Some of My Experiences in Florida During the Rise and Progress of the Rebellion," 2, typescript copy in author's possession, courtesy of Harold R. Clark of Jacksonville.
20. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

without bitterness, carrying away memories of "pleasant times" with the company and pride in his more than two years of active service.[21] Keene could not have known, as he returned to Jacksonville, that within a few months his hotel would be a smouldering ruin, and that he and his wife would be threatened by death.

Keene himself is silent on what happened, but obviously he had made himself conspicuous as a Northerner when he left the ranks of the Light Infantry. In the prevailing mood of the day this alone would have tended to arouse suspicion and polarize sentiment against him. His resignation may even have inspired resentment among some of his former comrades-in-arms, but it is likely that he would have calculated the effects of his action before making a move so fraught with the possibility of disastrous consequences. Up to this point compromise with secession had done no real harm; his drills with the Light Infantry, and even his service at Fort Steele, had amounted to little more than games men play. But enlistment in the Confederate Army was something else again. Did Keene realize that this was a step he could not take in good conscience, no matter what the consequences?

Whatever the case, it is obvious that Keene was a man tormented by cruel options, called upon to demonstrate his convictions while his life and property hung in the balance. It was a grim situation, but not unique. Every free person in Jacksonville, whether Northerner or Southerner, faced the same decisions, although some had more to lose than others.

The mood of Jacksonville in this tragic period is well-chronicled from a Unionist point of view by Calvin L. Robinson, a Vermonter, who had settled in the town in 1859 and quickly established himself as a leading merchant. While Keene was still drilling and parading with the Light Infantry in 1860, and hosting civic ceremonies at his hotel, Robinson was reporting a different kind of experience. After the summer of 1860, Robinson stated, his loyalty to "the old flag" and his outspoken opposition to secession, placed his life and property in jeopardy. He lived under constant fear of violence from rabid secessionists,

21. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, September 26, 1908. "I have always felt proud that I was a member of the J.L.I.'s," Keene wrote in his letter to Capt. Greeley, published on this date. But the letter was written half a century later. Keene's fragmentary records in Miscellaneous Record Book, 1856-1866, indicate he probably owned part interest in the Judson House at the time of his resignation.

among them a furtive band of vigilantes who made life miserable for him after he was labelled an abolitionist, a term which "signified everything that was vile and abhorrent to Southern people."[22]

Following Florida's secession early in 1861, Robinson became sufficiently alarmed for the sake of his family and property to join a newly-organized home guard company, acting for a time as drillmaster to a squad of recruits. "We, however, refused all regular organization or enrollment," Robinson said. Jacksonville's Unionists also resisted an attempt to require all northern-born residents to take an oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, an attempt that failed because some Northerners "favored the rebellion," and certain Southerners opposed it. Thereafter, Robinson said, feelings became more bitter, and a "brutal" element of "ruffianism" emerged. Members of the local vigilance committee threatened Robinson's life on several occasions, and attempted to extort money from him in exchange for his family's safety. Similar attempts were successful against other northern men, but Robinson armed himself and converted his home into a fort rather than submit.[23]

Meanwhile, there were other things to be concerned about. The outbreak of war brought on an economic recession in the summer of 1861, caused in part by the Union blockade of southern ports. Regular steamboat service between Charleston, Savannah, and Jacksonville was suspended, making it virtually impossible for people to leave. It was difficult enough to transport personal belongings, let alone goods stocked in stores and warehouses. In any case, the latter was forbidden by Confederate port agents on the grounds that all supplies were needed for the war effort. Though it might have been possible for men like Keene and Robinson to return North, they would have had to leave most of their belongings behind. The outlook was not much better for those who remained. At the least, they faced possible confiscation of their property or forced sales of their valuables for Confederate or state "war currency."[24]

Craftily, Robinson began converting every cent he could into

22. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 2.
23. *Ibid.*, 5, 7-9, 12-13.
24. *Ibid.*, 15-16. Jacksonville *Tri-Weekly Florida Sun*, January 27, 1876, describes the recession of 1861.

"southern bank money," some $12,000 of which he managed to accumulate and bury in bottles in his back yard. He hid valuable goods beneath piles of empty boxes in his warehouse, hoping they would escape detection until they could be smuggled North or reclaimed when conditions improved. Although he discharged a work force of twelve clerks at his store and warehouse when business began to fall off, Robinson continued operating his lumber mill after war was declared, storing the finished boards in sheds in the belief "that when the war was over Southern pine lumber would bring high prices, and at all events would be a safer investment that the aforesaid [worthless] currency."[25]

Whereas Robinson was saddled with goods he valued at $70,000,[26] Keene's personal property was in cash or negotiables. Living at the Judson House, the Keenes probably owned very little furniture and might have packed and left almost on impulse, after appointing a local agent to manage the hotel until conditions improved. But they remained, although the hotel probably was nearly vacant after the steamboats stopped running.

Again questions occur. Was Keene trying to make the best of a bad situation by sticking it out with friends in Jacksonville? Would he have remained in the secessionist camp had events turned just a bit differently? And how many were there like him in Jacksonville, sitting a precarious fence, waiting to see which way the wind might blow?

When news reached Jacksonville of the occupation of Fernandina by Federal troops on March 4, 1862, "The greatest excitement prevailed," according to Robinson. He remembered southern soldiers straggling into Jacksonville with stories of narrow escapes they had made from capture by northern gunboats which could "run anywhere there was a heavy dew." As these stories circulated, "many families at once commenced leaving Jacksonville, hurrying their effects toward Lake City and other points along the railroad," Robinson said.[27]

25. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 13-18. Robinson was able to redeem his southern bank notes after the war for about fifty-five to sixty-five cents on the dollar. He realized about $7,000 from northern cotton speculators who found that some planters in the South still preferred the old currency over greenbacks after the war.
26. *Ibid.*, 13.
27. *Ibid.*, 19. At this time, according to the 1860 census, there was a population of 2,018 in Jacksonville and 4,912 in Duval County, including 1,987 slaves. The white population was about half southern and half northern,

Responding to the crisis, Jacksonville Mayor Halstead H. Hoeg published a proclamation on March 7 in which he admitted that the town would not be defended if the Federal army advanced up the St. Johns River. But he also pointed out that "It is the opinion of our most experienced and intelligent citizens . . . that if the enemy meet with no resistance, private property will be respected, and unarmed citizens will be allowed to pursue their usual occupations."[28]

Jacksonville settled down, but not for long. The Federal commander at Fernandina, Brigadier General Horatio G. Wright, already was planning to send an expeditionary force up the St. Johns River. Its objectives would be the capture or destruction of several batteries of artillery, among them some guns which had been carted off by Confederates in their retreat from Fernandina, and others at Fort Steele and atop St. Johns Bluff. This done, General Wright's plan called for the "capture" of Jacksonville, but only "for purposes of reconaissance," after which "the troops shall be withdrawn." If Jacksonville was to be occupied, it would be only for as long as necessary to carry out the expedition's primary objective, the destruction of enemy strong points commanding the St. Johns.[29]

The Confederate command, meanwhile, already had decided not to risk any major confrontation in Northeast Florida. Accordingly, the troops holding Fort Steele and their St. Johns Bluff position were ordered to evacuate and fall back on a defensive line about ten miles north of Jacksonville. There, elements of the 3rd Regiment of Florida Volunteers, under Colonel W. S. Dilworth, were preparing to make a stand out of range of any Federal gunboats which might appear on the river.[30]

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according to most contemporary accounts. This meant the town was about equally composed of white Southerners, slaves, and white Northerners.

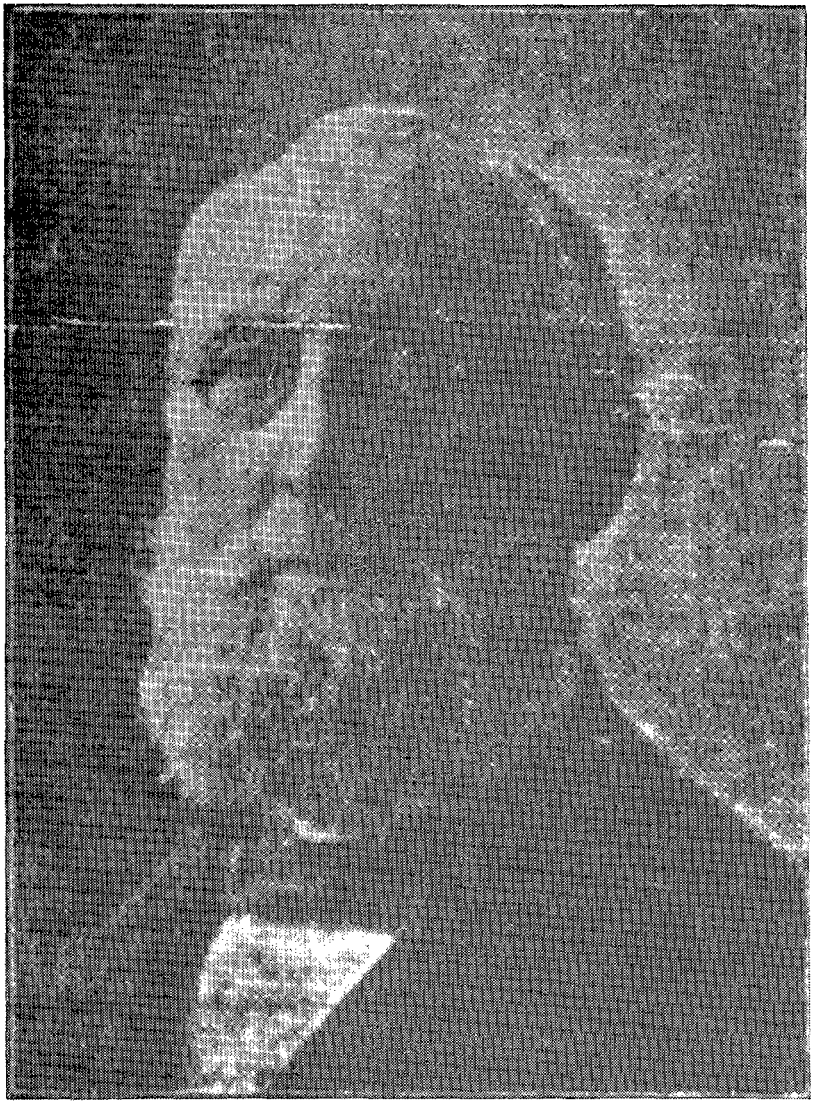
28. "Instructions from the mayor to the citizens of Jacksonville, in view of the occupation of that place by the Union forces," in U. S. Naval War Records Office, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Volume 12 (Washington, 1901), 600-01. Hereinafter cited as ORN. See also Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 116-17.
29. Wright to Thomas W. Sherman, March 7, 1862, in U. S. War Department. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume VI (Washington, 1882), 239, *House Documents*, 47th Cong., 1st sess., No. 63, 239. Hereinafter cited as ORA.
30. Robert E. Lee to J. H. Trapier, March 1, 1862, ORA I; VI, 403-04; W. S.

Two days before the Federal expedition arrived off the mouth of the St. Johns on March 9, the Jacksonville Light Infantry buried their guns, hastily abandoned Fort Steele, and began a withdrawal toward Jacksonville.[31] Bone-weary, haggard, and dispirited, the troops made their way on foot and by boat in a sad procession that must have unnerved settlers along the river who saw them pass. They were joined by the men of the Duval County Cowboys who had been stationed at St. Johns Bluff and were now destined to become Company F in Colonel Dilworth's 3rd Florida Regiment.

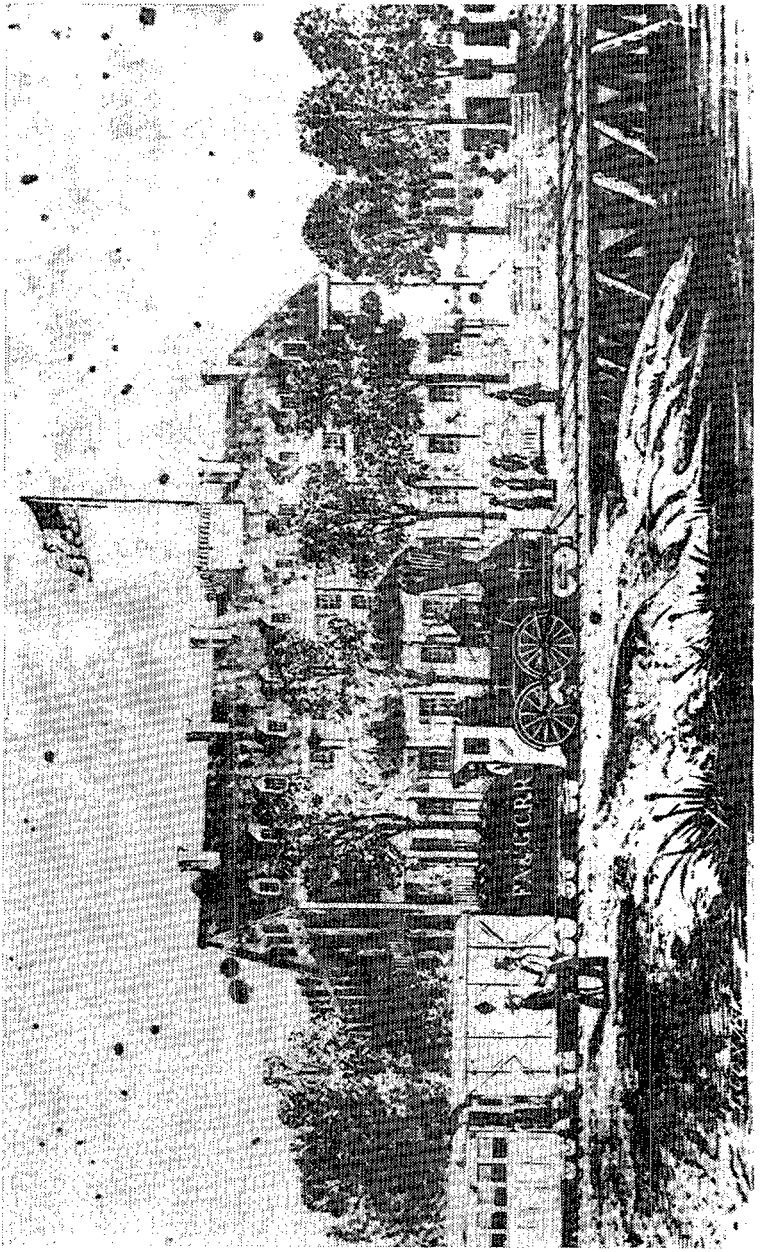
As these men straggled through town in the growing dusk of that long day, a grim drama was being enacted at a small shipyard off Bay Street east of Jacksonville. There, for many months, a former United States Navy commander, named Farrand, had been armor-plating a 600-ton steamer to convert it into an ironclad for the Confederate Navy. It was a work every loyal Southerner and some reluctant Yankees, in Jacksonville and Duval County had shared in, by contributing every available scrap of iron for Commander Farrand's forges. Everything from nails to iron fences and cooking utensils had been melted and hammered into plates to armor the hull, but the work had not progressed sufficiently to move the vessel. Now it became Farrand's sad duty to destroy the unfinished gunboat rather than see it fall into the hands of the invaders. Sitting high on its stocks on the banks of the river (approximately at present Bay and Georgia streets), the vessel could not be scuttled, so preparations were made to burn it. Not until darkness had settled over Jacksonville, about nine

Dilworth to T. A. Washington, April 15, 1862, ORA I: VI, 131-32. Although the works at Fort Steele had been completed, the position at St. Johns Bluff was unfinished when the order to evacuate arrived. William Budd, master and commanding officer of the Federal gunboat *Ellen*, ordered to investigate the bluff later, reported that he "found two earthworks, one intended for four and the other for three guns, both in an unfinished state; also seven houses for the accomodation of troops, a large quantity of lumber, some unfinished platforms, and tools," and six heavy guns with ammunition. Budd to T. H. Stevens, March 13, 1862, ORN I:12, 699.

31. James Esgate, *Jacksonvlle: The Metropolis of Florida* (Boston, 1885), 17, says the cannon were buried, apparently because there was no transport available. The Federals, however, had no trouble finding them. After Fort Steele was occupied, and later abandoned by a company of the U.S. 4th New Hampshire Regiment, the Federals reported that "the batteries abandoned by the enemy . . . [at Fort Steele] were destroyed and their carriages and platforms burned." Wright to A. B. Ely, April 13, 1862, ORA I:VI, 124.



Otis L. Keene,
photograph from obituary notice.
(Jacksonville *Metropolis*, September 29, 1910)



Judson House Hotel.
(P.K Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville)

o'clock on the night of March 9, did the work of destruction begin as torches were applied to the gunboat.[32]

And so the war came to Jacksonville– without glory or heroics in the face of shot and shell; but rather, meanly, in the crackle and roar of a spoiling fire that was a harbinger of worse things to come. The deepest fears of the people now were confirmed. The time for decision had come for those who had argued sometimes politely in the comfort of their homes, sometimes heatedly on the streets and in their shops. No longer would words suffice; men would be judged by their actions. Now, according to Robinson, "a large number of the ruffian portion of the population– consisting of members of the Vigilant Committee, men who had little or no property to be burned, insisted on burning the town, and that everbody should flee to the country. Now the wildest excitement prevailed. Every sort of vehicle was pressed into service hurrying household goods and merchandise towards the [railroad] depot, and families . . . were hurrying off in the greatest haste. This panic extended to nearly all of the Southern population; but most of the Northern citizens and some of the large property holders among the Southern people objected to leaving the city."[33]

Shortly afterwards, Robinson learned from Southerners friendly to him, that his property "and that of the Judson Hotel were to be destroyed by the rebel forces and that I and my best and trusted friend and confident, Judge [Philip] Fraser . . . would be murdered, if we were found in town, by those troops

32. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 16-17, tells how Confederate agents ransacked Jacksonville to find iron for the gunboat. Diaries, March 9, 1909, March 9, 1910; Esgate, *Jacksonville,* 17-18, mention the gunboat. Keene places the shipyard in East Jacksonville. Martin, *City Makers,* 39, 264n, pinpoints the location and traces the shipyard's history. The gunboat was not completely destroyed and parts of it were used during the occupation to repair the *U.S.S. Ellen,* damaged in action on the St. Johns. Lieutenant Stevens reported from Jacksonville on April 3, 1862: "The *Ellen* is undergoing necessary repairs, which can be done here at reasonable prices and by experienced workmen. The rebels in destroying by fire the frame of a gunboat being built for their service, under the direction of Farrand, late a command in the U. S. Navy, left untouched the berth deck planking of the vessel, which is now being used for repairing the *Ellen's* hurricane deck." Stevens to S. F. Du Pont, April 3, 1862, ORN I:12, 698.

33. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 19-20. Some of the southern property-owners joined with the Northerners and drove out of town a band of incendiaries said to have been comprised largely of men from Fernandina.

who it was said were coming to burn the numerous sawmills and the large quantity of lumber in our neighborhood" to prevent their capture or use by the Federals.[34]

On March 11, the Federal expeditionary force– four gunboats, two armed launches, and a transport with eight companies of the 4th New Hampshire Regiment– arrived off the mouth of the St. Johns. Colonel T. J. Whipple was in command for the army, and Lieutenant T. H. Stevens was the senior naval officer present. Having brought his ships safely over the bar, Stevens ordered a halt while a party was sent ashore to reconnoiter. When it was learned from runaway slaves that Fort Steele had been abandoned, a company of the 4th New Hampshire was landed to occupy the works, an operation that lasted until dark, preventing any further progress up the river. About the same time that evening, a force estimated at approximately 500 Confederates, commanded by Major Charles Hopkins, descended on Jacksonville with orders from General Trapier to destroy saw mills and lumber, the railroad depot, and a foundry and machine shop to deny their use to the enemy.[35]

The southern troops formed at the railroad depot (present Clay and Adams streets), a short distance from the Judson House. Word of their arrival spread like wildfire, and a "rough-looking crowd" soon gathered. When it was verified that the troops had orders to burn the saw mills, agitators among the civilians fired the mob's blood with the galling question, "Why should Southerners lose all they owned and Unionists remain in possession of the town with their property intact?"[36]

Keene could have observed the gathering storm from the windows of his nearby hotel, but he made no move to leave. For Calvin Robinson, it was another story. As he remembered it, "a neighbor who sympathized with secession, but who was very friendly to me came running into the store and exclaimed, 'Robinson, what did I tell you. Those Confederate troops, sent to

34. *Ibid.*, 20, 29. Later, an aide-de-camp to General J. H. Trapier, overall southern commander in East Florida. wrote Robinson stating that the general had refused the pleas of these fire-brands to burn the Judson House and other non-strategic Unionist properties, and had forbidden such action.
35. Stevens to Du Pont, March 13, 1862, ORN I:12, 599; Martin, *City Makers,* 38-39.
36. Davis, *History of Jacksonville,* 356; Martin, *City Makers,* 39.

burn the mills, are here at the depot and you have got to leave at once, or you will not live to see another morning.' I started immediately for my house . . . [taking] time only to get my wife and the two little boys with their young colored nurse, caught a table cloth and threw into it what bread and cold cooked provisions were at hand, seized my traveling shawl and hurried down to the store wharf and into a boat and had just gotten out a few yards into the river when two columns of troops marched down Bay Street and another down the back of the town and in a few minutes the city was under close military guard."[37]

While Robinson fled with his family to safety across the river, Otis Keene watched the Confederate troops file by the Judson House. Soon, a group of southern men, some of them soldiers, others business acquaintances who had enjoyed the Keene's hospitality at the Judson House, and in a few cases were in debt for unpaid hotel bills, entered the hotel. It must have been a tense moment for Mrs. Keene, but she retained her composure, received the men politely, and inquired as to whether the hotel was in danger. What followed comes from Calvin Robinson's pen:

"[They] set her fears all at rest by assuring her that there was no truth in the reports that the hotel was to be burned, ordered supper, and partook of one especially prepared under the superintendence of the hostess herself, whose heart was now light under the assurance that their property was not to be destroyed. But in less than one hour after they had finished their repast they began their work of destruction by applying the torch to some old buildings adjoining with a view to burning the hotel.

Mr. and Mrs. Keene, seeing their all was about to be destroyed, rushed to their private room, and began bringing out some of their choice articles, among them a fine old mirror, a valuable heirloom . . . which Mrs. Keene prized very highly. . . . Seeing one of the . . . young men standing near, whom she had fed that night . . . without price, and who had assured her that her property would not be destroyed, she handed him the mirror and begged him to carry it to a place of safety. He took the glass from her hands and turning from her deliberately smashed it to

37. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 22.

fragments on his knees, and then ordered her not to move anything from the house.

Mr. Keene did, however, succeed in [saving some of the hotel's furnishings] . . . carrying them to a knoll some three hundred yards west of the house, beyond reach of the flames, and he and his good wife stood guard over them till the day dawned."[38]

The Judson House was set on fire at nine p.m., and, while the event was still fresh in his mind Keene stated that those responsible were "*Rebel* soldiers, commanded by Major Chas. F. Hopkins."[39]

Now the soldiers began the work of destruction in earnest, applying torches to seven of the eight sawmills and their storage sheds filled with millions of feet of cut lumber. The fires inflamed the mob, which ran wild in the streets. Three Unionists were killed, one shot dead in town, the others murdered while attempting to escape in small boats across the St. Johns.[40] Among those who fled in terror as the fires raged and the mob howled, was Mayor Halstead H. Hoeg, whose life had been threatened.[41]

Across the river, hidden in high grass on the bank, the Robinsons and Frasers huddled together, watching in horror, and waiting. In a letter written six days afterward, Mrs. Robinson recalled: "We stood nearly all night where we could watch the progress of the fires. We saw the torches pass up and down the river among the mills, and finally stop at the end of the warehouse, and immediately . . . [it] was in flames. At the same time we heard several guns, one after another; they were firing at . . .

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38. *Ibid.*, 29-30.
39. Miscellaneous Record Book, 1856-1866, September 4, 1862. Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 118, attributes the fire to "a mob . . . of refugees from Fernandina and Jacksonville." Esgate, *Jacksonville*, 18, vaguely assumes that the military was to blame. Lt. Stevens of the U. S. Navy reported that "property belonging to Northern men with suspected Union proclivities, [was] burned by order of the rebel commander." Stevens to Du Pont, ORN I:12, 599. The *New York Times*, March 21, 1862, reported a dispatch from Flag Officer Du Pont dated March 15, stating "The burning of the valuable mills and lumber, with the fine hotel at Jacksonville. and the house of Mr. Robinson, a Union man, was by order of the rebel General Trapier, who, after ingloriously leaving with his forces from the town with very considerable means of defence at hand, sent a large detachment back for this incendiary purpose on discovering that our gunboats" [were delayed at the bar].
40. Martin, *City Makers*, 40.
41. *New York* Times, April 2, 1862.

[two Unionists who] escaped in a boat . . . and as they left the wharf they [the mob] fired ten or twelve times."[42]

The warehouse which was set afire was Robinson's own, burned with his store and wharf after the mob had broken into and looted them. Other stores, warehouses, wharves, and some homes belonging to Northerners were also put to the torch. "Soon, all of these were in flames and their light reflected back from the sky, then overcast with heavy clouds, was a fearful sight to look upon. The whole heavens seemed like billows of flames. That was a hideous night," Robinson said.[43]

It was especially hideous for the Keenes as they stood watching the Judson House burn while they guarded the pitiful pile of furniture they had managed to salvage from the hotel. Fortunately, their position near the railroad depot was on the western outskirts of the town, far removed from the center of activity where the mobs were shooting, looting, and burning. But the Keenes must have been terrified as the sawmills flared up along the waterfront, followed by the fires closer in town as torches were put to Robinson's properties and other structures. Only a heavy rain around midnight saved Jacksonville from widespread destruction that night as the flames spread from one flimsy wooden structure to another. The Keenes remained at their vigil until dawn revealed the smouldering ruins of the Judson House. At that time, according to Calvin Robinson, "as the band of ruffians, who had perpetrated the pillages and burning in the city, departed on the train at daybreak, they left one more evidence of their style of chivalry, by firing a volley at these inoffensive people– Mr. Keene and his wife– from the cars as they moved out of the depot, and one of the bullets passed through the brim of the hat which Mrs. Keene was wearing."[44] Keene would never forget that night. Four years later he would exclaim, "What would again tempt me to pass through it all again?"[45]

The arrival of Union gunboats the next morning ended the terror. Thoroughly frightened by this time, Keene felt "relieved . . . from our imprisonment from rebel despotism" and cheered

42. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 37. The letter was published in the *Boston Journal* on March 30, 1862. Mrs. Robinson dated it March 17.
43. *Ibid.*, 23.
44. *ibid.*, 29-30.
45. Diaries, March 11, 1866.

"by the sight of the glorious Old Flag once more."[46] Across the river, Robinson and Judge Fraser, with their families, were ecstatic on sighting the first Union ships. "Never did greater joy more suddenly take possession of hearts in greater despondency," Robinson wrote. Flying a flag of truce, he rowed with Judge Fraser to the gunboat *Isaac Smith,* where both men were received with hearty congratulations for their "escape" and treated by Navy officers to wine, crackers, and cake.[47]

Elsewhere in town that day, other citizens were making early contacts with the Federals. Sheriff Frederick Leuders, fearing the gunboats might shell the undefended town, waved a white handkerchief in token of surrender, and a boat was lowered from one of the warships to bring some officers and men ashore to discuss the situation with him. Meanwhile, Judge S. L. Burritt, a Unionist, had rowed out to the gunboat *Ottawa,* flagship of the naval force, and under a flag of truce surrendered the town to Lieutenant Stevens, the senior naval officer in command.[48]

Other Unionists who made initial contacts with the Federals carried the news that Jacksonville was undefended. They pleaded for protection and pressed claims of a large body of loyal citizens in the area. Impressed, Lieutenant Stevens called a council of war aboard the *Ottawa,* which was attended by the senior army and navy officers present. Robinson, invited to address the council, "urged upon them the fact that there were many citizens in Jacksonville who were loyal to the Old Flag; or would be should the threatening power of the Confederacy be lifted from them." A brief consultation followed, according to Robinson, during which Stevens revealed that the Federal force "had no orders to occupy the city." Under the circumstances, however, "it was the unanimous judgment of the officers that they ought to land and take possession of the town," Robinson added. That decision being made, "the signal was given and amid the cheering strains of 'Yankee Doodle' from the bands, the troops on board the gun-

46. *Ibid.,* March 12, 1866.
47. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 26-28.
48. Davis, *History of Jacksonville,* 118, quotes Leuders as believing he had surrendered the town to the commander of the fleet after signing the necessary papers. Lt. Stevens, in his official report, states that "On our arrival at this place [Jacksonville] the corporate authorities, through S. L. Burritt, esq., came off with a flag of truce and gave up the town." Stevens to Du Pont, March 13, 1862, ORN I:12, 599.

boats, consisting of the 4th New Hampshire Regiment and a large number of Marines, landed and took possession of the city, Colonel Whipple commanding."[49]

A *New York Times* correspondent reported that it had been a year since so many ships were in port, and the presence of hundreds of sailors and soldiers with ready cash in hand, sent merchants scurrying back to their shops in the hope of unloading merchandise they had given up as lost just a few hours earlier.[50]

The promise of a business revival, however brief, prompted some southern merchants who had remained in town, to step forward and declare their allegiance to the Union. Others, like Keene, who had been undecided, now embraced the "old flag" eagerly. For Keene, there was nothing else to do. His friends were scattered, his hotel destroyed, and he lived with the memory of those horrible moments, fraught with malice and deceit, when those he trusted had burned the Judson House after promising not to, and others had shot at his wife.

Despite the presence of the Federal troops the danger was not over. Calvin Robinson was told that "the Rebels would give more to catch me and one other prominent citizen here, than so many of the highest Federal officers in this place."[51] Other civilians feared a raid by "regulators"– guerillas who, it was believed, were planning an attack on the town to complete the work of destruction begun by the mob on the eve of the occupation. When this rumor persisted, there was a clamor for guns among the townspeople, and even women were said to have "seized arms" and joined in an all-night vigil. But the "regulators" never came.[52]

While the Federals dug in, destroying some buildings to clear lines of fire or prevent their use by snipers, tension mounted among the civilian population as people began to speculate on

49. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 28.
50. *New York Times*, April 2, 1862, gives an unusually good and lengthy report, which is accurate and comprehensive, in its summary of the entire course of the Jacksonville occupation from March 12.
51. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 33.
52. *New York Times*, April 2, 1862. For a time the Robinsons slept in a warehouse under protection of the Union gunboats. Later, they shifted residence from one vacant house to another out of fear that the "regulators" were planning to infiltrate the Federal lines and attempt to kidnap or kill them. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 42.

their fate in the event of a military withdrawal.[53] Some Southerners who had remained in town to protect their property now realized the error of their ways and applied for safe passage through the Federal lines.[54] Other residents who refused to leave, or had no means to do so, made it clear to Union officers that they feared reprisals unless the occupation continued or they were provided safe passage North when the troops left. "They do not fear us, but their own people," Lieutenant Stevens observed in a report to his superior.[55] Both he and Colonel Whipple urged the inhabitants to organize a loyal state government, and Whipple went so far as to declare to Calvin Robinson that "the United States would send a force sufficient to sustain us, if it took thirty-thousand men."[56]

These developments were reported to Brigadier General Thomas W. Sherman at Hilton Head, South Carolina, then senior commander of Federal forces in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. As a result, Sherman visited Jacksonville in mid-March to assess the situation personally. He was greeted by a delegation of citizens, among them Otis Keene, and given a warm welcome. Then, on March 19, 1862, Keene, Robinson, Burritt, Mayor Hoeg, Judge Fraser, and others, conferred with the general aboard a navy troop transport anchored off Jacksonville. There, according to the *New York Times*, the delegation "described the condition of the town during the past year, the destruction of its once flourishing trade, the forced enlistment of its young men, the suffering of all classes, and the culmination of its miseries, inflicted by the ravages of the Regulators. They proclaimed their anxiety for the restoration of the United States Government and assured Gen. Sherman that a similar sentiment was wide-spread throughout this region of the State."[57]

53. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 33. No reliable estimate of damages was made, although Robinson guessed that total losses connected with the first occupation were in the neighborhood of $200,000. One newspaper correspondent thought the destruction was extensive and "noted with special regret the wantonness of the [occupation] troops in destroying, by hacking with sword and bayonet, the rare shrubbery and ornamental plants" which had adorned the town. Esgate, *Jacksonville*, 18.
54. Wright to W. G. M. Davis, April 2, 1862, ORA I:VI, 127.
55. Stevens to Du Pont, March 13, 1862, ORN I:12, 599-600; *New York Times*, March 21, 1862.
56. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 39.
57. *New York Times*, April 2, 1862; Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 39.

General Sherman replied with an admission that although there had been no intention to hold Jacksonville initially, the presence of such an apparently large number of loyal citizens in and around the town might influence national policy in respect to future action. He then requested that the exact number of loyal citizens in town be ascertained, the implication being that if there were enough of them to justify a change of policy in regard to Jacksonville, the army might consider this.[58] That evening, notices were posted throughout the town calling on all loyal citizens to register their names at the office of the Provost Marshal. The register was opened at 8:30 on the morning of March 20, 1862, and by ten o'clock there were eighty-two names subscribed, and Keene's was among them.[59]

A half hour later about 100 loyal citizens met at the courthouse, Judge Philip Fraser presiding. There, amidst grim and intense debate, Calvin Robinson was elected chairman, and Otis Keene, secretary, of a committee to write an appropriate proclamation. A statement was drafted quickly denouncing secession and "the terrors of unrestrained popular and military despotism" and a call was issued for "a convention of all loyal citizens" in Florida to be held in Jacksonville "for the purpose of organizing a [loyal] State Government of the State of Florida." The proclamation was signed by Fraser, Robinson, and Keene.[60]

A journalist covering the meeting reported: "It was not attempted to induce the Floridians to return to the Union; the movement originated among themselves, and forced a response from the commanding General."[61] That response came in the form of a proclamation signed by General Sherman and ad-

55. Sherman to Adjutant-General U.S. Army, March 25, 1862, ORA I:VI, 250. General Sherman reported to the war department on March 25, 1862, that after understanding the political situation in Jacksonville, and the "reign of terror" the Union men were being subjected to, he ordered the town reinforced. He also expressed "the sanguine hope that Florida will soon be regenerated." See also Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 39.
59. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 39.
60. ORA I:VI, 251-52, publishes the proclamation in full, as does Davis, *History of Jacksonville,* 119-20. See also, *New York Times,* March 31, April 2, 1862. In the latter it was reported that those who attended this meeting felt they were "taking their lives in their hands in thus openly avowing Union sentiments for the first time in Florida for more than a year." Nevertheless, the proclamation was endorsed "in the heartiest manner."
61. *New York Timer,* April 2, 1862.

dressed "To the People of East Florida." This guaranteed protection to loyal citizens "in all their rights within the meaning and spirit of the Constitution of the United States," and concluded with the recommendation, "that in every city, town, and precinct, you assemble in your primary and sovereign capacity; that you there throw off that sham government which has been forced upon you; swear true fidelity and allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, and organize your government and elect your officers in the good old way of the past."[62]

The Jacksonville Unionists sent copies of their own proclamation through the Federal lines to other communities where they thought loyal sentiments were strong. Copies also were dispatched by Union gunboats to the occupied towns of Fernandina and St. Augustine. In each case, delegates were invited to Jacksonville to attend a convention, or Union meeting, on March 24, 1862, for the purpose of establishing a loyal state government.[63] Keene's signature on the proclamation carried him over his own Southern Rubicon. There could be no turning back now for him or for anyone openly associated with the loyalist movement.

As March 24 drew near, the New York reporter on the scene observed: "The citizens manifested the greatest satisfaction, invited the National officers to their houses and tables, [and] introduced them to their families. . . . They seemed never tired of the endeavor to convince the Nationals that their loyalty was real. They insisted that the Union sentiment was shared by thousands of others; that many of the rebel troops are ready to desert." The *New York Times* man said he personally saw "half a score" of Confederate soldiers come into Jacksonville on one afternoon to take the oath of allegiance. He added that the triangle formed by Fernandina, Baldwin, and Jacksonville was "especially full of loyal people" who were "anxious to be relieved from the results of the rebellion."[64]

Lieutenant Stevens reported that he believed the inhabitants along the St. Johns River for 250 miles above Jacksonville were

62. ORA I:VI, 251.
63. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 40, tells of one "old patriot of St. Augustine," a blacksmith and part-time preacher named Whiting, who "lost his life in his zeal to get these documents to the interior of Volusia County." Caught in the forest with incriminating documents on him, he was hung from a tree.
64. *New York Times,* April 2, 1862.

"for the most part quite peaceable and apparently well disposed toward their old flag." This assessment was made on the basis of gunboat reconaissances as far south as Palatka and above that point along the river. One gunboat commander who had cruised the St. Johns to Dunn's Lake reported that "all along the route the people would come out, claiming protection, waving white flags from their houses, and declaring themselves heartily sick of the rebel rule."[65]

On March 24, as scheduled, the second "Union meeting" was held at the courthouse in Jacksonville, attended by local citizens and delegates from throughout Northeast Florida. Robinson was elected chairman, Keene, secretary, and a Committee of Five was appointed to draft a resolution calling for a convention to be held in Jacksonville, April 10, for the purpose of "reorganizing the civil authority" in Florida.[66] On the day following this meeting the navy transport *Cosmopolitan* returned to port carrying a regiment of the 97th Pennsylvania Volunteers, under Colonel Henry R. Grisse, to reinforce the Jacksonville garrison. General Wright also was aboard, having come from Fernandina to assume command of what was now termed "Hdqrs. Third Brigade, Expeditionary Corps."[67] The arrival of these reinforcements was interpreted as meaning that the Federal command now intended to hold Jacksonville. This, in turn, encouraged citizens who had remained silent to this point to speak out. Before long, Calvin Robinson was receiving daily "congratulations and assurances from planters and others, from Mandarin, Clay County and various other directions [and] from parties coming through the lines." Overjoyed, Robinson reported "that nearly the whole country was in sympathy with us, and would support us, and would exhibit their support just as far as their safety from the rebel troops . . . would permit."[68]

65. Stevens to Du Pont, April 3, 1862, ORN I:12, 698; *New York Times*, April 2, 1862.
66. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 41; Esgate, *Jacksonville*, 19. Named to the five-man committee were Judge Fraser, John W. Price, C. S. Emery, Dr. J. D. Mitchell, and Joseph Remington.
67. Wright to Davis, April 2, 1862, ORA I:VI, 127; Sherman to Adjutant-General U. S. Army, March 25, 1862, ORA I:VI, 250; Wright to Louis H. Pelouze, March 25, 1862, ORA I:VI, 253. Esgate, *Jacksonville*, 19, says these troops were "quartered in buildings opposite the residence of O. L. Keene." This would have been a temporary residence, location now unknown.
68. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 41.

The Confederates, fully aware of what was going on in Jacksonville, and further alarmed by the reinforcement of the Federal garrison, began concentrating troops in the area. By March 31, according to General Wright, elements of the 3rd and 4th Florida Regiments, the 5th Davis Cavalry, and the 1st Florida Battalion, were massing about ten miles north of Jacksonville—2,700 men in all. In addition, word had filtered through to Wright's headquarters that the Confederates intended to return the 1st and 2nd Florida Regiments to the area, or possibly send two Georgia regiments to join in a move on Jacksonville. Accordingly, General Wright requested that two additional Federal regiments be sent to him. "I shall, of course, hold this point to the last against any force that may be brought by the enemy, and am entirely confident, with the aid of the gunboats now here, of making a successful defense," General Wright reported in an official estimate of the situation which made no mention of a possible withdrawal.[69]

Although the Confederates mounted a campaign of "annoyances" against the Federals, which were little more than attacks on picket lines and foraging parties, there seemed to be no reason for Jacksonville's Unionists to believe the town, or their position, was in serious jeapordy.[70]

While work went on to receive delegates for the April 10 Union meeting, General Wright continued to take actions which encouraged the illusion of a permanent occupation. He suggested that a district judge and marshal be appointed to reside at Jacksonville, and that a postmaster be selected to serve the troops in the vicinity, as well as the people of Fernandina and St. Augustine. The general also sought permission to allow loyal planters in the vicinity of Jacksonville to bring their cotton into the

69. Wright to Pelouze, March 31, 1862, ORA I:VI, 125-26. A report to the war department in Washington, March 25, 1862, stated that there were sixteen companies of infantry in Jacksonville, and another company with a battery of artillery at the mouth of the St. Johns. The guns of the Union warships on the river, of course, provided the major firepower, and the Confederate lines were established beyond their range, ten miles north of the town. Sherman to Adjutant-General U. S. Army, March 25, 1862, ORA I:VI, 250.

70. W. S. Dilworth to T. A. Washington, April 15, 1862, ORA I:VI, 131; Wright to Pelouze, March 25, 1862, ORA I:VI, 253. In the most serious attack on Federal outposts, Confederates reported four Union soldiers killed and three taken prisoner. The Union version reported only one man killed, another badly wounded, and three taken prisoner.

town for shipment and sale in the North– an indication of a return to some semblance of business normality.[71] At the same time, General Wright's troops were erecting a battery of guns on the outskirts of Jacksonville as "additional protection"– a measure which no doubt was interpreted by civilians as indicative of the occupation's permanency.[72]

Other observors, however, were thinking along entirely different lines. Chief among these was Major General David Hunter, who was to have the final say. On March 15, 1862, General Hunter was assigned to the command of a new Federal Department of the South, covering Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, with headquarters at Hilton Head, South Carolina. Soon afterward Hunter began studying troop dispositions in his command and came to the conclusion that his lines were over-extended. His solution to the problem, based primarily on military factors, was to deliver a cruel blow to the people of Jacksonville. The general reasoned that, whereas Fernandina and St. Augustine could be approached more or less directly from the sea, and with their fortifications provided an ample base for the control of Northeast Florida, the occupation of Jacksonville served no useful military purpose. Consequently, on April 2, he ordered Jacksonville evacuated in order that the troops there could be used to reinforce the garrisons at Fernandina and St. Augustine. Federal commanders at these two anchor points, Hunter stipulated, were to offer as much protection as possible to loyal citizens in Northeast Florida, particularly Jacksonville. The Navy was to assist in this plan by keeping its gunboats patrolling the St. Johns, offering their protection when requested or needed by the

71. Wright to Pelouze, April 3, 1862, ORA I:VI, 129, reports that municipal government in Jacksonville was restored immediately following the occupation on March 12, 1862.

72. Stevens to Du Pont, April 3, 1862, ORN I:12, 698. The guns for this battery had been abandoned at St. Johns Bluff when the Duval County Cowboys evacuated that position. Six cannon were found at the Bluff March 12, 1862, when the *U.S.S. Ellen*, commanded by Master William Budd, was sent there to investigate. Three of these guns were spiked– a 3-inch rifled gun, a 4.2-inch smoothbore, and "an old English 24-pound iron gun, on field carriage." Three other pieces apparently had been sunk in the St. Johns and were recovered in serviceable condition. These included two VIII-inch columbiads with barbette carriages and a 4.2-inch rifled gun, all "in good order," according to Master Budd. All of the guns were salvaged and transported to Jacksonville, with the exception of the old 24-pounder, which was blown up. For Budd's report see Budd to Stevens, March 13, 1862, ORN I:12, 699.

civilian population. It was General Hunter's opinion that with the aid of these gunboats and "with proper efforts on the part of the inhabitants themselves," Jacksonville might be held by its own people against the Confederate force outside the town.[73]

Hunter's order, probably dispatched by gunboat from Hilton Head, did not reach Jacksonville until April 6, at which time military preparations for the evacuation were begun. However, it was not until April 7– only three days before the scheduled Union meeting– that General Wright revealed Jacksonville's impending fate to the community. This the general did in a brief, matter-of-fact notice which reported his orders to abandon Jacksonville, along with General Hunter's promise to aid and protect loyal citizens, and to conduct "fourfold" retaliation or reprisals against rebels who perpetrated any "outrages" against those civilians who remained behind.[74] Calvin Robinson's reaction to this turn of events was typical: "The first intimation I had of this order came through an officer of General Wright's staff, who called at my house at nine o'clock in the evening of the 7th, and informed me that the town would be evacuated the next day at ten o'clock. This intelligence fell on our ears like a death knell. . . . For months we had been in terror, threatened and persecuted, worn out with anxiety and watching, driven at last into the woods, and our property pillaged and burned, then, anon, rescued from our peril, and hope revived. . . . How suddenly like a thunder bolt from the clear sky, this order comes, crashing to earth the last hope, and banishing us from our homes and few comforts saved from the wreck and sending us out, refugees and wanderers, we knew not where. . . . The announcement stunned us."[75]

Robinson was luckier than other Unionists who learned the grim news that evening. With the help of Colonel Grisse, a personal friend as well as commanding officer of the 97th Pennsylvania Volunteers, space was secured for Robinson's personal belongings aboard a sutler's schooner, the *Anna C. Leavett,* which was preparing that night to sail for New York. Colonel Grisse

73. H. W. Benthan to Wright, April 2, 1862, ORA I:VI, 127-28; "General Orders, No. 26," March 15, 1862, ORA I:VI, 248; "General Orders, No. 1," March 31, 1862, ORA I:VI, 257-58.
74. Wright to Ely, April 13, 1862, ORA I:VI, 124-25; "Notice," April 7, 1862, ORA I:VI, 129.
75. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 42.

even sent men to help pack and cart Robinson's belongings to the ship, completing the hasty job by midnight. The next morning, Robinson and Judge Fraser, with their families, boarded the Union gunboat *Seneca* at the invitation of its commanding officer, Lieutenant Daniel Ammen, who was also a friend; and at nine a.m. the ship steamed out of port for Hilton Head and safety. Behind him Robinson left a town in "great commotion" as other families, with friends less fortunately placed, rushed their preparations to evacuate.[76]

Those wishing to go north to Fernandina were assigned space on the transport *Cosmopolitan;* those heading south to St. Augustine were sent aboard the *Belvidere.* In no case were the civilians given more than ten hours notice, and, said one observer, "it was sad to see them hurrying down to the wharf, each carrying some article too precious to forsake. Books, boxes, valises, portraits, pictures, packages of clothes, pet canaries and mockingbirds were most frequently seen. Stout-hearted and stylish officers relieving Dinahs [Negro servants and slaves] of their little charges and leading . . . [children] added a humane and praiseworthy ludicrousness to the melancholy scene."[77]

Among those preparing for exile were the Keenes. The belongings they carried aboard the *Cosmopolitan* included a few pieces of silver, some bedding, carpeting, a piano, and various items of furniture, most of it the property of the Judson House. Somehow, Keene managed to find a place for this property although cargo space was at a minimum. In fact, a considerable amount of captured military equipment and stores had to be abandoned to make room for the refugees' belongings. This materiel was destroyed as the troops began embarking around noon. By two p.m. the embarkation was completed, and the gangways were hauled aboard the transports. The civilian passengers– men, women and children– crowded the railings to stare out over the town, some with tears in their eyes, others with shock as their world seemed to be collapsing around them. On the wharf below, and at various points in town, smoke rose from the piles of burning military contraband being left behind, and a wind, blowing suddenly, began to whip the rising black plumes across

76. *Ibid.,* 42-43.
77. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida,* 253.

the sky and lash the river into a froth of white turbulence. The wind proved so strong it was impossible to move the transports away from the wharves until sunset– too late to order a move down the tricky channel of the St. Johns. Under the circumstances, Lieutenant Stevens decided to lay off the town until morning, a decision General Wright welcomed, since it tended to dispel any appearance of a "hasty retreat." Not until six o'clock on the morning of April 10 did the small fleet move out under escort of the gunboats *Pembrina, Ottawa,* and *Ellen.* Following in their wake were the transports *Cosmopolitan* and *Belvidere,* the yachts *America* and *Son of Malta,* and five schooners, among them the *Anna C. Leavett,* carrying Calvin Robinson's belongings. As the ships got underway those on board watched Confederate troops move into position along Bay Street and the Jacksonville waterfront. But no civilians remained in sight on shore to see them off .[78]

Aboard the transport *Cosmopolitan* were 200 civilians; possibly that many or more sailed on the *Belvidere.* How many remained behind was never determined, but a Confederate officer under flag of truce two weeks later reported that "many" civilians were still in Jacksonville, including women and children. On April 28, Lieutenant J. Glendy Sproston of the Federal gunboat *Seneca,* visited Jacksonville and reported: "I observed while on shore that the stores . . . were closed; the place having generally a deserted air. I did not see more than fifty soldiers off duty, and the sentry posts were at long intervals. Nothing appertaining to great guns or field artillery was visible." By April 30, according to Lieutenant Daniel Ammen, commanding the *Seneca,* Jacksonville "had every appearance of being almost entirely deserted." That summer, Jacksonville would become little more than a ghost town.[79]

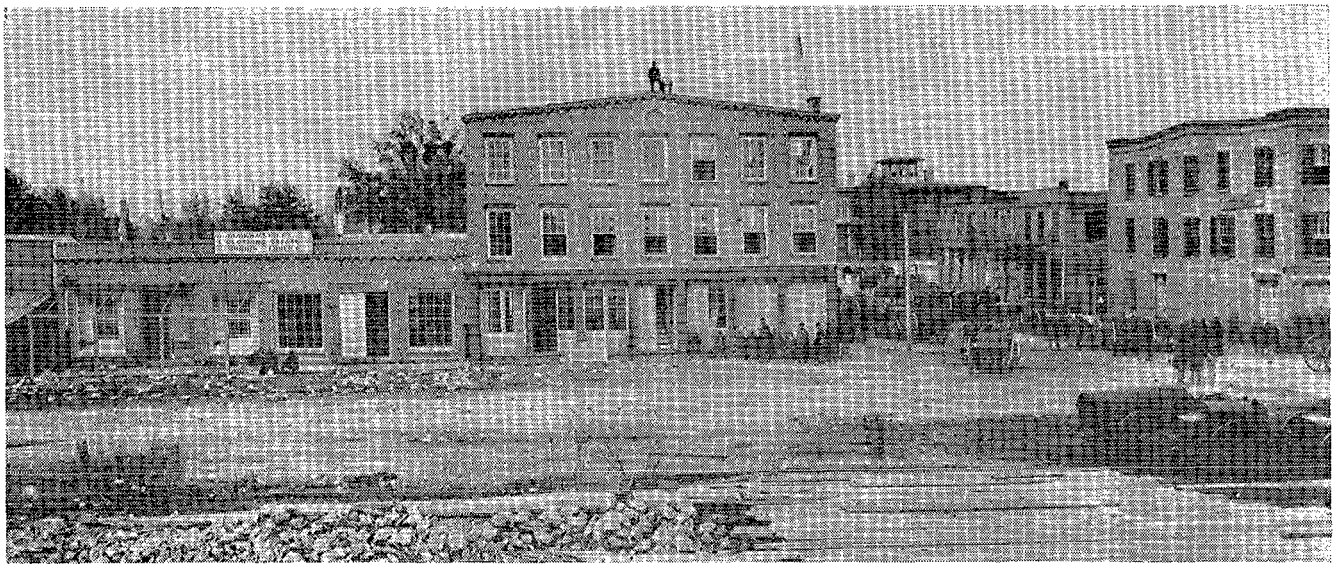
The population had scattered, some to remain in Florida; others, like the Keenes, to return to their former homes in the North. Still other would find their destinies on battlefields across the face of the land. Some would never return; most of the peo-

78. Wright to Ely, April 13, 1862, ORA I:VI, 124-23; Esgate, *Jacksonville,* 20; Thomas Frederick Davis, *History of Early Jacksonville, Florida* (Jacksonville, 1911), 168.

79. The Federal observations of Jacksonville were made under flag of truce. Ammen to Du Pont, May 3, 1862, ORN I:12, 748-50; Sproston to Ammen, April 28, 1862, ORN I:12, 751.

Bay Street looking west, 1865.

Ocean Street looking north from river. ca. 1866.
(Jacksonville *Metropolis*, September 12, 1908)



View of Jacksonville, corner Bay and Ocean streets, during Federal occupation, 1864. (National Archives)

ple would remain in exile for three long years before they saw Jacksonville again.[80]

Reflections on their fate must surely have occupied the thoughts of most of the refugees aboard the *Cosmopolitan* and *Belvidere* as the tiny Federal fleet made its way toward the mouth of the St. Johns on April 10. It took eight hours to reach Mayport, and, after a short delay to pick up the troops who had been holding Fort Steele, the fleet proceeded across the bar at three p.m. and then dispersed. The gunboats remained behind with the yacht *America*,[81] the *Belvidere* turned south for St. Augustine, and the *Cosmopolitan* headed north for Fernandina, arriving there at 7:30 that night. On the following day, General Wright penned a report to his superiors in which he reviewed the plight of the Jacksonville refugees: "The necessity for the withdrawal of the troops from Jacksonville is to be regretted. . . . These persons could not remain behind with their families with any safety, the enemy having threatened the lives of all who should show us the least favor or even remain in town after our occupation. . . . Many of these people have abandoned all, and are without other means than the worthless paper currency in circulation before our arrival. Their condition not only appeals strongly to our sympathies, but they have a claim to present assistance from the Government . . . which owes them aid and protection. . . . I have accordingly instructed the commander . . .

80. Jacksonville was occupied a second time in October 1862, and a third time in March 1863. The fourth and final occupation, leading to the Battle of Olustee, began in February 1864, and continued until the end of the war. During that final occupation many citizens returned to the town, especially after it became clear that the South had lost the war. By that time much of antebellum Jacksonville had been destroyed, partly to make way for fortifications or to clear lines of fire, partly as the result of sporadic artillery duels, and in large part by fires set by Federal troops when they evacuated the town for the third time in 1863. See Martin, *City Makers*, 46-53; 70-74.

81. Wright to Ely, April 13, 1862, ORA I:VI, 124-25; Stevens to Du Pont, April 3, 1862, ORN I:12, 697-99; Stevens to P. Drayton, April 3, 1862, ORN I:12, 705-06; Stevens to Drayton, April 13, 1862, ORN I:12, 739-40; Ammen to Du Pont, May 3, 1862, ORN I:12, 748-50. The gunboats remained on station blockading the river mouth and patrolling the St. Johns for some weeks. The *America* was convoyed to Port Royal a few days after the *Cosmopolitan* left for Fernandina. It was the intention of the Navy to keep at least two gunboats patrolling the St. Johns "from Mayport to Palatka, to insure protection from lawless marauders to the inhabitants living on its borders."

[at Fernandina] to cause provisions to be issued to such as need them."[82]

Most of the refugees aboard the *Cosmopolitan*, including the Keenes, remained aboard the transport for the week they were in Fernandina waiting for transportation North to be arranged. Other refugees, including the Robinsons and Frasers, who had arrived earlier by boat or on foot, slept in crowded, makeshift shelters ashore, as many as thirteen in a small room. It was a grim experience, particularly for those people who had managed to bring little or nothing away from their homes. The Keenes were more fortunate than most. The furniture and belongings they had managed to salvage eventually would bring them more than $500 in greenbacks, and by September of 1862 Keene's cash accounts would show a balance of $3,494.35– a large sum for the times.[83]

On April 17, 1862, Flag Officer Samuel F. Du Pont sent word to Fernandina that the Florida refugees there who wished to go North could embark on the transport *Star of the South*, bound for New York. Among those who sailed with her shortly afterward were the Robinsons, Frasers, and Keenes, in company with Fernandina Provost Marshal, Colonel J. F. Hall, a native New Yorker. Colonel Hall saw to it that the refugees were greeted warmly when they arrived in New York. Newspapers carried lengthy accounts of their ordeal; hotel-keepers offered free rooms for as long as necessary; the city council allocated $1,000 for relief; and the New York Board of Trade raised enough additional money to provide each family a cash payment of $150-$250.[84]

The publicity generated by the plight of the Jacksonville refugees focused national attention on the abortive Federal expedition on the St. Johns. Influential Northerners demanded to know why a town occupied by so many loyal citizens had been evacuated by choice, as opposed to enemy action. The question was raised, what could justify the abandonment of Jacksonville when its residents already had taken the first steps toward reorganizing a loyal state government in Florida? Congress re-

82. Wright to Ely, April 13, 1862, ORA I:VI, 125.
83. Diaries, April 9, 1863; Miscellaneous Records Book, 1856-1866; Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 44-45.
84. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 45; *New York Herald*, April 22, 1862.

acted on April 24, when the House of Representatives passed a resolution directing Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton to "communicate all the facts and circumstances . . . in regard to the late evacuation of Jacksonville." Unmoved by the controversy, Stanton replied in a letter of April 28 to Galusha A. Grow, speaker of the House, stating that he had been instructed by President Lincoln "to say that Jacksonville was evacuated by the orders of the commanding general . . . for reasons which it is not deemed campatible with the public interest at present to disclose."[85]

There the matter rested officially; but soon afterwards Calvin Robinson and several other Florida men visiting in Washington managed to extract some unofficial admissions from high sources which shed more light on the unfortunate incident: "We soon found that the evacuation of Jacksonville was looked upon by the authorities . . . as a great blunder and greatly regretted, by none more than the noble President, Abraham Lincoln. On calling upon President Lincoln, he assured us that he looked upon the movement in that light and said it was done without orders from the War Department, and that it was a great mistake and he was sorry it had occurred; that, in his opinion, the point should have been held and made a base of operations for the center of our State; that it should be retaken again as soon as troops could be spared from other operations for the duty."[86]

Robinson would return to Florida as a United States Direct Tax Commissioner with headquarters at Fernandina. Throughout 1863, however, he remained active as part of a small and vocal group of Floridians who agitated in the North for a permanent occupation of Jacksonville and the restoration of a loyal government there. His efforts were to help pave the way for the fourth and final occupation of the town, early in 1864, which led to the decisive defeat of a Federal army in the Battle of Olustee, the only major clash of arms in Florida during the war.

As for Otis Keene, after 1862 the course of the war in Florida no longer had a direct bearing on him. As soon as arrangements

85. Stanton to Galusha A. Grow, April 28, 1862, ORA I:VI, 131. That the move on Jacksonville was intended originally "for purposes of reconaissance" (Wright to Sherman, March 7, 1862, ORA I:VI, 239) and that the occupation overextended Federal strength (Benham to Wright, April 2, 1862, ORA I:VI, 127-28), were major factors in the decision to abandon the town.

86. Robinson, "Account of Some of My Experiences," 46.

could be made to dispose of the Judson House furnishings in his care, he returned to his hometown of Bremen, Maine. There, within two months, he secured appointment in the Maine State Militia as an orderly sergeant. In that capacity, during the late summer of 1862, he was ordered by Major General William T. Titcomb, to begin enrolling the militia for induction into state and national service. The enrollment was completed on July 17, 1862, and on that date fifty-five of the 150 men on the company's roster assembled at School House Number 3 in Bremen to elect officers. Ultimately mustered into the famous 20th Maine Regiment, the Bremen militia carried five of Keene's brothers on the rolls, two of them as officers, and three of whom would lose their lives in the war.[87]

Keene, however, was not to experience combat. Soon after the Bremen company was organized, he resigned or was discharged from the service, and by September 1862 he was in Washington petitioning for a federal job. Shortly thereafter, Keene was appointed to a clerkship in the treasury department, and in December 1862 he moved with his wife to Washington. There he would remain until the end of the war, a witness in the nation's wartime capital to events that would haunt him for the rest of his life.[88]

87. Miscellaneous Records Book, 1856-1866, records Keene's militia experience and contains the complete roster of the company.
88. Jacksonville *Metropolis*, September 26, 1910.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES ROBERTSON'S MISSION TO THE FLORIDAS, 1763

by ROBERT R. REA*

THE BRITISH ACQUISITION of Florida and the Gulf coast from Spain and France in 1763 represented the rounding out of both continental and Caribbean boundaries, the fulfillment of Pitt's triumphant vision of imperial expansion. But neither the Great Commoner nor the common Englishman had a very clear notion of those territories which were transformed into the provinces of East and West Florida. A misleading propaganda campaign might educate London coffeeshop habitués to the beauties and prospective riches of the new colonies, but the British army in North America needed more realistic information in order to establish that internal security upon which future prosperity must depend.[1] Orders from Whitehall assigned the occupation of St. Augustine, Pensacola, and Mobile to troops departing from Havana. At New York the commander-in-chief, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, cast about for an officer upon whom he could depend for coordination of the territorial transfer, the gathering of pertinent and accurate details, and perhaps ultimate command in the southern borderlands. His choice fell upon James Robertson, lieutenant colonel of the 15th Regiment of Foot and deputy quartermaster general of the army in North America.

A native of Fifeshire and a man in his early forties, James Robertson was a seasoned campaigner. Having enlisted as a private in a marine regiment, he was commissioned and served in the disastrous Cartagena expedition of 1741. A captain at the end of the War of Jenkins's Ear, he transferred to the Foot and worked his way to a majority in the 60th Regiment (Royal Americans) by the outset of the French and Indian War.[2] Ad-

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1. Charles L. Mowat, "The First Campaign of Publicity for Florida," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* XXX (June 1943-March 1944), 359-76.
2. Robert L. Jones, *A History of the 15th (East Yorkshire) Regiment* (Beverly, Yorkshire, 1958), 178.

vancement was the reward of administrative competence and personal qualities which won the attention of the Duke of Cumberland and the favor of Lord Loudoun, whose repeated recommendations secured Robertson his quartermaster's deputyship in 1757. By the end of that year he was part of Loudoun's official "family" in New York, a man "upon whose good sense Loudoun came more and more to rely."[3] Although Loudoun's caution accomplished too little against the French in Canada to please the politicians, he won the respect of his officers, and they in turn prospered under his successors in North America. Robertson was able to shift to the 55th Regiment in 1758, saw action at Louisbourg, and was transferred to the 15th Regiment as lieutenant colonel early in 1760, serving as deputy quartermaster general under Amherst.[4] With Canada reduced and the peace ratified in 1763, Amherst and his staff settled into headquarters at New York. Sir Jeffrey, anticipating being relieved of the command and returning home, entrusted the Florida mission to a well-tried and proven subordinate.

The "Instructions" which Robertson received from Amherst on August 24, 1763, directed him to St. Augustine, Pensacola, and Mobile, where his "chief business" would be to inform himself "of the particular state and condition of the Fortifications and other publick Works . . . the number of Troops necessary for Garrisoning it; what Guns, Artillery Stores & ca. are there at present, & what more will be wanted: & likewise the small arms."[5] From thence he was to travel up the Mississippi River, establishing British garrisons in the ceded French posts as far as Vincennes, although that place would be supplied from Fort Pitt. Headquarters for the western posts were to be settled at Fort Chartres on the Mississippi. In the later stages of his endeavor, Robertson was advised to seek the cooperation of the

3. Stanley McCrory Pargellis, *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765* (New York, 1936), 234, 318, 333; *Lord Loudon in North America* (New Haven, 1933), 167.
4. Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, 416; Jones, *History of the 15th*, 178; John Shy, *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (Princeton, 1965), 71.
5. "Instructions," Sir Jeffrey Amherst to James Robertson, August 24, 1763, Sir Jeffrey Amherst Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Hereinafter cited as AP.

French governor and commanding officer at New Orleans. Having provided the expedition with shipping, Amherst judged that "the craft I now send with you . . . will answer for proceeding up the River Mississippi; and you will take such additional ones on the spot, or hire such Boats, as may be necessary." For the duration of his mission Robertson was given command over all forces in Florida and Louisiana, the authority to draft men from one regiment to another, and he was provided with two months' provisions for 200 men, £1,000 for extraordinary expenses, and cash subsistence for five months for the original occupation forces that had been dispatched from Havana. He might also establish Mr. Mallet, a surgeon, and his two mates, and three army commissaries, wherever he thought most suitable. Upon completion of the mission Robertson was instructed to make "a full Report," although Amherst envisioned the possibility that he might decide to remain at one of the the southern posts.[6]

As the troops assigned to occupy the Spanish and French coastal forts left Havana with minimal equipment, Robertson found himself responsible for a small supply fleet which Amherst assembled at New York. The lieutenant colonel sailed aboard the brig *Hannah*, master John Thurston, in company with a Captain Muller, the young surveyor-engineer Lieutenant Philip Pittman, and Surgeon Mallet. The ship's cargo included the money Robertson was carrying to the occupying regiments, plus 1,200 picks, shovels, axes, and spades for construction purposes.[7] Aboard the ship *Venus* were a dozen officers of the 9th, 22nd, 34th, and 35th Regiments, a number of soldiers, and a supply of bedding. The sloops *Curaçao, Tryal,* and *Peggy* carried other men and equipment, although the *Peggy* got away before the rest of the convoy in order to deposit a detachment of the 42nd Regiment at Jamaica. The brig *Kitty* sailed after Robertson's departure with ninety-one tons of supplies and a few late drafts for Florida.[8]

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6. *Ibid.* [command authorization].
7. On Pittman, see my introduction to his, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* (London, 1770; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1973).
8. "List of Transports under the Direction of Lt. Colonel Robertson," Amherst to Robertson, September 24, 1763, AP.

Amherst was particularly interested in the condition of the posts in the upper Mississippi area. He probably provided Robertson with a description of the Illinois country titled "Some Account of the Country & Post on the Mississippi . . . as given by a Frenchman," and hearing from Sir William Johnson that French traders might supply Pontiac's Indian rising with with arms and ammunition by way of the Mississippi, he sent after Robertson instructions that when the British occupied the Illinois all traders should be kept out of the region.[9]

The expedition sailed from New York about the end of August, and in spite of becoming separated at sea the ships came together off the bar at St. Augustine on September 8. The bar was not a sight to lift a landsman's spirits. "The waves on it running mountain high, and the wind blowing directly on shore," Robertson wrote, "we stood out and were glad to clear the land." The next day was no better. The convoy stood in toward the bar, but its signals failed to elicit a pilot. Robertson ordered the *Hannah* brought under the stern of an English transport anchored with her yards and topmasts struck, and boarding her he learned that pilots were only to be had by making personal application ashore. His first attempt to send in a plea for assistance almost proved catastrophic; the small vessel bearing his messenger foundered in attempting to cross the bar. Happily, the officer was saved and delivered Robertson's request for a pilot to the St. Augustine garrison. As none was immediately available, Robertson remained at anchor off the bar from September 9 to the 10th. "The night was terrible," he remarked, "and it was with difficulty we rode out the gale being anchor'd in the open ocean." A fourteen-inch cable was reduced by stretching to a mere eleven inches! On the morning of September 10, the wind abated, and a Spanish launch brought out a pilot who got all the ships except the Venus, which was too deep of draft to cross the bar, into St. Augustine harbor. The *Venus* discharged her stores by small boat and was sent back to Charleston.[10]

9. Amherst to Robertson, September 25, 1763, AP.
10. Unless otherwise indicated, the narrative of Robertson's travels is based upon his long letter to Amherst, November 15, 1763, AP.

Robertson found much to concern him in St. Augustine. The place had been occupied by Captain John Hedges and four companies of the 1st Regiment on July 20, and Hedges had been relieved by Major Francis Ogilvie and the 9th Regiment ten days later.[11] The 9th was in a weakened condition, and even with the replacements Robertson brought with him, it could muster no more than six full companies. The lieutenant colonel felt such a complement unnecessary, however, and decided to send one company to Apalachy. Military stores in St. Augustine were badly spoiled. Much was only fit to be destroyed, although Ogilvie might recoup something from the sale of part of the goods. Fortunately there was no shortage of money, and Robertson could report that "the soldiers are well look'd after, mess regularly, and sometimes buy fish or beef to accommodate them." "The demand for flour is greater than for any other [item]," Robertson found. He noted, "this place tho' capable of producing everything affords nothing at present but fish, not an herb, not a cabbage, all is overgrown with weeds. Cattle come from Georgia, and beef is sold at 9d. N. York money a pound." Robertson immediately set aside land for a regimental garden and instructed Ogilvie to see to its cultivation. He further sent notices to Georgia and South Carolina assuring merchants that no duties would be levied on supplies brought to St. Augustine. This step, he hoped, would lower prices, for necessities he found to be "as dear here as at the Havannah."

Thanks to the timing of his visit, Robertson gained a happy impression of the climate– "the Cold in Winter is only sufficient to mark the differences of Seasons but does not prevent the growth of all sorts of Vegetables, green Pease may be had at Christmas without the aid of fire or glass [greenhouses]." In a country that would produce "all sorts of grain and fruits . . . with little labor," where "two Crops of Indian Corn has been had off the same field in one year," the Briton could only blame "the indolence of the Spaniards" for the relative barrenness of Florida.[12]

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11. Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, 1943; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 7.
12. Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office, "Report of Florida," 5/83:137ff. Library of Congress transcripts. Hereinafter cited as "Report." Other Colonial Office documents cited CO.

If food was in short supply, rum was not, and Robertson issued orders to restrict its excessive flow. "The new regulations," he found, "were not well receiv'd by the soldiers," and six men promptly deserted, four with their arms. Robertson was forced to ask Spanish Governor Melchoir Feliu to order out two parties of twelve dragoons to assist the mounted English sergeant and corporal he sent in pursuit of the fugitives, for "the Spaniards understand tracking better than Indians, or this country either cover'd with sand or grass better affords the means." The deserters' tracks were picked up in less than a mile, and after a gallop of nine leagues they were run to earth. A general court martial sentenced four of the men to death, and two received 1,000 lashes. Robertson thought the four deserved to be shot; and though he considered leaving their fate in Amherst's hands, he feared that the general might pardon them and thereby encourage further desertion. Urged to mercy by the court and Major Ogilvie, who pointed out that three of the condemned had good characters, and moved by the interposition of Governor Feliu, Robertson decided to be "humanely wrong rather than rigidly right." He ordered out four firing squads, prepared four coffins, forced the prisoners to kneel blindfolded in a row, but allowed only one squad to fire. After this morbid example of merciful justice, the 9th Regiment was advised that henceforth all deserters would be shot.[13]

Housing was a major problem for the British troops at St. Augustine, for its Spanish population of over 3,000 had little room to spare, and Spanish authorities claimed that nearly everything save the governor's house was private property protected under the terms of the Treaty of Paris. There were no barracks for British officers. The first to arrive had been placed in private homes with Governor Feliu's permission, but those of the 9th Regiment were asked to pay for the quarters to which they were assigned, and "the Spaniards disliking to have strangers in their familys generally quitted the houses where Officers were quarter'd." Robertson received a memorial from the Spanish commissary demanding payment of $180 per week for

13. On the seriousness of the problem in the new colonies, see Robert R. Rea, "Military Deserters from British West Florida," *Louisiana History*, IX (Spring 1968), 123-37.

the officers' quarters, and although he was under orders "to show as much kindness & civility to Spanish as to British subjects," his patience was severely strained by the Spaniards' expectations. He insisted that he would "not put the Crown to an expense in their favor which was not allow'd to Brittish Subjects," and refused to pay for quarters.[14]

As the Spaniards were preparing to withdraw to Havana, Commissary Juan Cotilla had also been appointed to assist private individuals with the sale of their property. Robertson found that his valuations were "not unfavorable to the proprietors," but Cotilla was disposing of their land cheaply and trusting the Spanish government to make up the difference between evaluation and sale price. Jesse Fish, resident factor for Walton & Co. of New York, was already involved in this business with Cotilla by September 1763. Perceiving that Fish's connections and local familiarity would enable him to achieve "a monopoly prejudicial to the growth of a new Colony," Robertson took steps to forestall the scheme in which Fish and his partner John Gordon were engaged. On his return trip, in January 1764, Robertson encountered Gordon at Charleston. The conniving land agent showed him conveyances for 10,000,000 acres of Florida real estate, proposed to sell them to the Crown at "a very moderate profit," or "procure Settlers to possess them, on advantageous Conditions to himself." Robertson recognized a slick operator when he saw one and firmly rejected Gordon's suggestions– a course in which he was upheld by authorities in both New York and London. Under the circumstances, however, Robertson's efforts to persuade Spanish civilians to remain under British rule were quite fruitless. "Not content with carrying away all the living," he grimaced, "they remove the dead. The Bones of the late governor and of a number of Saints are carr'd to the Havannah."[15]

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14. "Report."
15. *Ibid.;* Gage to Halifax, March 10, 1764, CO 5/83:83-84. Robert L. Gold, in "Politics and Property During the Transfer of Florida from Spanish to English Rule, 1763-1764," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLII (July 1963), 22-24, 29-32; and *Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida* (Carbondale, Illinois, 1969), 44-45, 51-52, fails to credit Robertson with the ability to see how the Walton factor could take advantage of the situation to his own profit. Men such as Fish and Gordon did not restrict their activities to the legitimate concerns of the companies for which they worked, nor did they recognize

The Castillo de San Marcos was naturally of special interest to Robertson. The fort was "built of a mixture of Sand and Shells, brought from the Island of Anestasia," a material easily worked but "too porous to keep out water however thick the wall may be. The Spaniards therefore cover the outside with plaister. It has the advantage over freestone that when struck by a bullet it receives it without flying in pieces."[16] The deputy quartermaster general set Lieutenant Philip Pittman to try his skill at drawing plans and sections of the Castillo. He further observed to Amherst that, "The lines and morasses with which it is surrounded are its greatest strength, an enemy would find great difficulty to pass these, but when within them, the ground is so favourable for an approach that the fort could resist an enemy with a proper artillery but a few days. The extent of the lines would in case of a seige require more troops than are now in Florida for their defense, but the present garrison will be sufficient to keep them in repair in the time of peace." The Spaniards had mounted (and now removed) eighty-two guns; but the Englishman thought sixteen enough to cover its flanks, and another "sixteen light pieces, easily to be moved from one part of the lines to another would be more proper for the defense of the place, than a heavy numerous Artillery."[17]

San Marcos was not always a pleasant place. Robertson observed that "the climate is hot, the weather glass this day [Sept. 26] is at 90, and there being no thorough [i.e. circulating] air, the rooms are suffocating, the soldiers quarter'd in them generally chuse to lye on the ramparts." He proposed to make loop holes in the walls and to establish quarters for two officers within the

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any embarrassment in "conflict of interest." On Fish, see Robert L. Gold, "That Infamous Floridian, Jesse Fish," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* LII (July 1973), 39-50. Robertson did not ignore his own interests and later secured a grant of 15,000 acres in East Florida. Louis De Vorsey, Jr., ed., *DeBrahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1971), 256.

16. "Report."

17. *Ibid*. The Ordnance Board's proposal of April 9, 1764, for forty-four guns did not have the benefit of Robertson's "Report" (which reached London April 13), but the Board's decision was much closer to his recommendation than to that of Governor James Grant who asked for at least eighty pieces, a request obviously based upon Spanish practice. It was precisely to avoid such extravagance that Robertson was sent on this mission– a point *not* noted by Claude Sturgill in "The Decision to Re-arm St. Augustine," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* XLIX (1971), 204-07.

fort, there being none at the time. Robertson also scheduled one of the three chapels and the friars' rooms for officers' quarters as soon as the Dons departed. There was, at least, "a very good airey hospital for sixty men."

In addition to San Marcos, the East Florida establishment included Picolata, seven leagues north on the St. Johns River. It was a tower on which the Spaniards kept four light guns and ten men to cover the river crossing and guard communications with Apalachy. An outpost against the Indians in Spanish hands, it would become a trading post for the English, Robertson believed. Mosa, two miles away, was a turf redoubt with two guns, manned by a sergeant and twelve men.[18] Merely a lookout post in a flat country, Mosa was a refuge for "all the runaway Negroes from our Colonys" who "were protected and had lands assign'd to them" in the vicinity. "They became pretty numerous," Robertson reported, "but were all ship'd off before my arrival at St. Augustine." The lower entrance to St. Augustine harbor, Matanzas, boasted a tower, five guns, and a piquet of ten men. A lookout house on Anastasia Island completed the list of northern posts. On the Gulf coast there was Apalachy. A new stone fort was abuilding, and its ideal location for controlling Indian trade persuaded Robertson that it ought to be supported, and land communication– which the Spaniards lacked– should be secured. He would order a detachment to that "remote frontier," but Lieutenant Colonel Robertson would bypass it on his tour of the Floridas.[19] Although Robertson ordered surveyors Pittman and Moncrief to prepare plans of these positions, only that of Matanzas seems to have been completed before they sailed for West Florida. The engineers were also instructed to compile more general maps of the country, but the Indians prevented any extensive surveying.

The worst thing about St. Augustine was "the badness of the bar & the want of pilots." "The bar of St. Augustine has sometimes at high tides fifteen foot water, at low water there is

18. In the "Report," Mosa is described as containing four guns and ten men, but this looks like a copyist's error.
19. "Report." See also Mark F. Boyd, "From a Remote Frontier," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (January 1941), 179-212; XIX (April 1941), 402-12; XX (July 1941), 82-92; XX (October 1941), 203-09; XX (January 1942), 293-310; XX (April 1942), 382-97; XXI (July 1942), 44-52; XXI (October 1942), 135-46.

sometimes but four. The breakers run terribly high, and the Coast is unsheltered from heavy Southeast Storms to which it is very subject in the fall of the year."[20] The real difficulties were exaggerated by the story that the bar was constantly shifting, "a fable invented to raise the price of pilotage," Robertson observed. He put Pittman to work charting the bar and describing the landmarks in an effort to remove some of the seamens' fears, but at the moment, he admitted, the danger was believed to be "so great that no vessel will come here at this season, tho' they have had high prices for what they have brought." As larger vessels could only pass the bar on a rising tide it was frequently necessary, in the face of contrary winds, to tow them out of the harbor. The towage fee was sixty "bitts" for the soldiers who manned the twenty-oared launch and $3.00 for the pilot. Robertson tried to improve the service and secure competent people by proposing to buy and provide the launch, a house at the lookout, and guaranteed prices, but no one would undertake the job for less than £50. A couple of unemployed New York pilots settling at St. Augustine, sighed Robertson, would be of "infinite use" and could learn their task within a week.[21] In contrast to St. Augustine, Robertson recommended the development of other harbors such as the mouth of the Musketto River (now Ponce de Leon Inlet), Key West, and Tampa Bay.

Business rather than weather detained Lieutenant Colonel Robertson at St. Augustine until October 6, in spite of his "earnest endeavours to get away sooner." He sailed aboard the *Hannah*, bound for Pensacola by way of the Florida Keys, in company with the *Curaçao.* A fair wind shifted to a southerly gale, however, and course was changed for Providence in the Bahamas, where Robertson arrived October 17 to find the *Tryal* which had transported elements of the 9th Regiment to the islands. Although he hoped to get over the Bimini bank at once and reach Pensacola in eight days, crosswinds detained him until October 22, and he did not reach the capital of West Florida until November 5.

St. Michael de Pensacola was an unimpressive fort. "Its enceint consists of rotten stockades. The Governor's house is of

20. "Report."
21. *Ibid.*

brick, almost all the others are of bark and without Chimneys." The 900 inhabitants, including 140 transported felons from Mexico and about sixty Christianized Indians, were dependent on the Spanish garrison. Poor soil and hostile natives forced the town to draw its food supply from Mobile.[22]

Leaving orders for Major Forbes and the 35th Regiment who were daily expected, Robertson sailed on to Mobile, November 6, and arrived on the 9th to find the 34th and 22nd Regiments, commanded by Major Robert Farmar, had taken possession of the town and Fort Condé (renamed Fort Charlotte) on October 20. "There was some other company I was not so well pleased to see," wrote Robertson, "about five thousand Choctaw Indians encamped around the Town, in woods which are within half gun shot of the streets." So ill-disposed were some of the chiefs that they would only give their left hands to the English upon meeting and even refused to drink rum with them!

The Indians had come in about November 1, at the invitation of the governor of Louisiana, to receive their last French presents– gifts which had been delayed four years by British naval interdiction. Acting Governor D'Abbadie and his military aide, M. Aubry, had come to Mobile to distribute this largesse and to deliver "talks" to the Indians. Robertson admitted that their words were entirely cordial and friendly toward Great Britain, but at first he "was persuaded that all this was a piece of French policy to retain the inclinations of the Indians." Subsequently Robertson was persuaded that as the New Orleans garrison was so drastically reduced that it was "hardly sufficient to protect them against their own Negroes;" the French were only concerned "to bring so powerful a neighbor into good humor," and the French gifts "were given rather with a view to divert the Choctaws resentment from themselves than to turn it against us." Though wishing he might disperse both French and Indians, Robertson saw that any such action would only produce "ill consequences." French Mobile, a town of some 350 inhabitants, sprawled about the fort. Its one-story houses were elevated on pillars to escape the frequent flooding brought on by violent gales. The brick fort was "fast crumbling to ruin."

22. *Ibid.*

Happily, Governor D'Abbadie soon persuaded Robertson of his pacific intentions, and as he graciously harangued the Indians "hand in hand" with Major Farmar, Robertson concluded that it was principally by his efforts that the Indians would be brought to a friendly attitude. At least Robertson prevailed on D'Abbadie to distribute but half the intended quantity of gunpowder and to do so in such manner that it could not easily be conveyed to the warring tribes to the north. A further difficulty arose as the redskins, though "glutted with French victuals," demanded entertainment by the British as well. "I told them," said Robertson, "in Europe it was ill manners to feed another man's guest, that if I had invited them, I should be angry if M. Dabadie fed them." By distributing a few of his own clothes and many promises of his King's future generosity, he escaped from a real embarrassment.

Robertson was fascinated by the French system of distinguishing Great and Small Medal Chiefs among the Choctaw. The former received medals "of Silver four inches diameter. . . . One side has the French King's head, and the other figures signifying the friendship between them and the French." Not only did the system create "a dependence throughout the whole Nation, which all terminates in the French Governor," it also set a Gallic style that grated on the sensitivities of the British officer. "French manners are in vogue in the Nation, every Indian affects them, and is esteem'd in some measure as he succeeds. A Chief bows like a dancing Master, kisses both your cheeks and makes you a French compliment." Concerned to secure and retain the friendship of the tribes, Robertson gathered information concerning their villages, took steps to encourage trade among them, and suggested the employment of Montault de Monberaut, a French officer who was "perfectly acquainted with them, who has the greatest interest of any man living among them. He could lead these into all our views [and] could prevent the emigration of the [French] Mobillians by his influence & example."[23]

Robertson's opinion of all Frenchmen was much higher than that of Major Farmar. That doughty Englishman felt that the

23. *Ibid.* See also Milo B. Howard, Jr., and Robert R. Rea, trans., *The Memoire Justificatif of the Chevalier Montault de Monberaut: Indian Diplomacy in British West Florida, 1763-1765* (University, Alabama, 1965), 23, 65-66.

French had attempted to delay his landing, had treated him shabbily on shore, were conniving with the Indians, were attempting to leave him defenseless by removing the guns of Fort Condé, and were doing their best to block British occupation of the interior. D'Abbadie criticized his dispatch of troops to the fort on the Tombecbé River and successfully discouraged the sending of British forces to Fort Toulouse. When he arrived, Robertson found Farmar and D'Abbadie were "on no good footing," for the Briton claimed the cannon of Fort Condé and the French held that the treaty had ceded only the land and buildings. Robertson got around the technical argument by pleading that he was under immediate orders to send troops up the Mississippi into Indian territory and that it behooved both nations to support their success in maintaining European domination. He offered to return the French guns to New Orleans should his view of British rights prove wrong, and he appealed to D'Abbadie to "rebind the knots of amity" by giving up the cannon to the British. D'Abbadie agreed to leave the guns of Forts Vincennes and Chartres in place, as well as those of the forts dependent on Mobile, and he mollified Robertson by cooperating in other matters relative to the occupation of the Mississippi River posts.[24]

Robertson saw little value in the outlying forts on the Tombecbé and Alabama rivers. They were but "slight stockades." The approach by water was completely commanded by the high banks of "a serpentine shallow river," and the French had always "depended more on the Indian friendship than on the strength of the places for the safety of their garrisons." He considered "a small garrison out of the reach of succor . . . as so many hostages in their hands," and had he arrived in Mobile

24. Robertson to Amherst, November 15, 1763, AP. Robertson to D'Abbadie, December 5, 1763; D'Abbadie to Robertson, December 7, 1763, in Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, eds., *The Critical Period, 1763-1765* (Springfield, Illinois, 1915), 58-60, 205-06. Farmar to D'Abbadie, November 9, 1763; Farmar to Secretary at War, January 24, 1764, in Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Mississippi Provincial Archives, 1763-1766, English Dominion* (Nashville, 1911), I, 9-12, 36. When the matter reached London, the ministry upheld Farmar's and Robertson's positions. Halifax to Gage, May 12, 1764, CO 5/83:173.

earlier, he would have forbidden Farmar's occupation of the Tombecbé Fort Choiseul.[25]

Both D'Abbadie and Aubrey were free with advice regarding the proposed ascent of the Mississippi, and Robertson probably correctly, if uniquely among the British officers involved, judged the French to be sincere in their support of the project. D'Abbadie even provided Major Arthur Loftus, who would command the expedition, with authority to seek the assistance of the Illinois militia at the junction of the Ohio "in case the Indians should offer an opposition there, which Mons. D'Abbadie says is the only place where they could do it to any effect."[26]

More pertinent was D'Abbadie's advice that Robertson's sloops and brigs were totally unsuitable for ascending the Mississippi farther than New Orleans and that "the 450 leagues which remains must be performed in row boats. None of these can be got here [Mobile], and it is doubtful if many can be had at N. Orleans." However, with Governor D'Abbadie's assistance, Robertson proposed to try. He planned to sail to New Orleans with Captain William Bayne aboard H.M.S. *Stag*, accompanied by Aubry, in order "to provide everything for the transportation of the troops" to the Illinois.[27]

Robertson had to change his plans, for the *Stag* was lying in Ship Island roads until the end of the year, refurbishing and revictualing.[28] He and Bayne did get to New Orleans neverthe-

25. "Report." See also Robert R. Rea, "The Trouble at Tombeckby," *Alabama Review*, XXI (January 1968), 21-39.
26. Robertson to Amherst, November 15, 1763, AP. In fact, Loftus was turned back at the Roche D'Avion, a mere sixty-five leagues north of New Orleans. See Robert R. Rea, "Assault on the Mississippi– The Loftus Expedition, 1764," *Alabama Review*, XXVI (July 1973), 173-93.
27. Robertson to Amherst, November 15, 1763, AP.
28. Great Britain, Public Record Office, Admiralty Papers, Log of H.M.S. *Stag*, 5/498. I have been unable to pinpoint Robertson's movements between November 15, 1763, and January 21, 1764. He expected to leave Mobile on November 15; he was in Mobile December 5-7. Loftus said that Robertson preceded him to New Orleans by two months, which would place him there about November 23. But, as Loftus seems to have had his departure from New Orleans in mind when he wrote, he may have meant about December 27 (Loftus to Halifax, December 24, 1764, CO 5/83:539). As Robertson wrote that he expected Loftus to leave Mobile about January 1, it is clear that he had left West Florida before that date ("Report"). A late December departure for New Orleans seems most reasonable and would help explain Farmar's comment upon Robertson's "being in such haste to return to make his report *to* Sir Jeffrey Amherst" (Farmar to Secretary at War, January 24, 1764, in Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 8).

less. As he reported that a gale encountered in the course of the trip forced his party to land on the coast among the Pascagoula and Biloxi Indians, it seems likely that Robertson made the trip by small craft along the inner passage and through Lake Pontchartrain. He was relieved to find that the Mississippi coastal Indians were "tame, harmless"– "the French bad me not be afraid, they were bons sauvages pas des Choctaw."[29]

In New Orleans Robertson undertook to make advance arrangements for the imminent arrival and river voyage of the 22nd Regiment. He contracted with the merchant Maxent for suitable boats to be ready by mid-January, and he secured assurances from Aubry and Nicholas Foucault that the contract would be fulfilled. He also sought the services of M. de la Gauterais, an experienced frontiersman, as a guide for the British expedition, but in this he was unsuccessful.[30]

James Robertson's orders had envisioned his continuing his tour from the Gulf coast on up the Mississippi to the posts in the Illinois country. No doubt his experiences at St. Augustine, Mobile, and New Orleans persuaded him that the report he was required to make to headquarters in New York would be the more impressive if made in person– and he the happier for delivering it there. Having ascertained all he could regarding the forts and the route north, he left the adventure to Major Arthur Loftus and the veterans of the 22nd Regiment and sailed eastward without delay. His next stop seems to have been Charleston, South Carolina, where he landed January 21, 1764, to learn that Amherst's place had been filled by General Thomas Gage since November 17, 1763. Robertson sketched for the new commander-in-chief the dispositions he had made in the Floridas, innocently assumed that Loftus was on his way to Fort Chartres (he had not yet, in fact, reached New Orleans), and advised that he would leave for New York in a few days, hoping to arrive in three weeks. Gage was under the impression that he would travel by land, but it seems more likely that Robertson continued by sea. In any case, he was back at headquarters in

29. "Report."
30. Loftus to Halifax, December 24, 1764, CO 5/83:539; John Stuart to Secretary of State, April 10, 1765, CO 5/66:31.

sufficient time to draft a lengthy report for Gage by March 8, 1764.[31]

Robertson's "Report" included a "luxurency of matter" and was supported by many plans and papers, yet he felt that it might "more properly be consider'd as the title or contents of a bulky collection." Many details he reserved for his conversations with Gage, but it was a remarkably thorough document, highly enlightening to the ministry at home, and it arrived in time to be transmitted to James Grant and George Johnstone, the newly appointed governors of East and West Florida. Secretary of State the Earl of Halifax declared that "the many interesting informations therein contained will be of great use."[32]

In New York Robertson's experience in the new territories was certainly of service to Gage and to the harassed commanders in the Floridas to whom the sympathy of the deputy quartermaster general was most vital. When Gage decided to appoint a brigadier for the southern department, Robertson was widely rumored to be his choice. No doubt James Robertson breathed a sigh of relief when the honor fell to Henry Bouquet. He may even have had a hand in making that fatal selection.[33]

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31. Robertson to Gage, January 21, 1764, Lieutenant General Thomas Gage Papers, William L. Clements Library. Gage to Halifax, February 11, 1764; Robertson to Gage, March 8, 1764, CO 5/83:69, 133.
32. Halifax to Gage, May 12, 1764, CO 5/83:173; Gage to Halifax, April 13, 1764, CO 5/83:173, 297. Robertson's "Report" was in Johnstone's hands by May 4, 1764. Rowland, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 117-18.
33. Lt. Col. David Wedderburn to Alexander Wedderburn, April 14, 1765, Alexander Wedderburn Papers, William L. Clements Library. Robertson received promotion to colonel in 1772; major general in America, 1776; commanded a brigade in the Battle of Long Island, 1776; became civil governor of New York from 1779 to 1781; received promotion to lieutenant general, 1781; and died in London, 1788.

TALLAHASSEE THROUGH THE STOREBOOKS: ERA OF RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION, 1867-1877

by CLIFTON PAISLEY*

LEON WAS the largest and richest county in Florida at the outbreak of the Civil War. Its population numbered 12,343, and its property was assessed at $8,843,095 in 1860. It led the state in agriculture; its farms were valued at $2,482,211, and during the crop year 1859 they produced 16,686 bales of cotton, 421,654 bushels of corn, and 136,038 bushels of sweet potatoes. It ranked third in manufacturing. Twenty-six establishments in 1859 employed 239 male and seven female workers and produced products worth $261,200. The county, like the rest of Florida and the South, suffered grievous economic losses during the war. Emancipation freed 9,089 slaves which represented a capital loss of $4,469,440.[1] Leon suffered a heavy casualty toll also; over 200 households suffered the loss of a father, husband, son, or brother. Many men were also crippled and disabled.[2]

Despite these setbacks, the economy of Tallahassee, Leon's only community of any consequence, appears to have been in a relatively healthy postwar condition, as evidenced by the number and variety of business and professional establishments listed in a directory compiled in 1867: twelve drygoods stores, twelve

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1. Leon County Tax Rolls, 1860, microfilm, reel JR 3889, Florida State Library, Tallahassee. Hereinafter cited as LCTR. U. S. Census Office, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Population,* I (Washington, 1864), 54-55; *Agriculture,* II (Washington, 1864), 18, 19; *Manufactures,* III (Washington, 1865), 60.
2. Some indication of the loss of young men from four years of war is provided in census returns for 1860 and 1867. The *Eighth Census, 1860,* Population, I, 50-51, reported that in Leon County there lived 875 white males older than twenty years compared with 687 white females, a surplus of 188 men; while a special state census in 1867 showed just the reverse– the number of white males over twenty-one stood at 721 and the number of females at 811, a surplus of 90 women. The special census of 1867, certified by Secretary of State Benjamin F. Allen on June 29, 1868, is quoted from the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* June 30, 1868. Hereinafter cited SPC 1867.

lawyers, eight physicians, six grocers, four carpenters, three apothecaries, three bakers and confectioners, three jewelers, three notaries, and three painters.[3] There were two auctioneers, barber shops, billiard saloons, blacksmiths, book and music stores, boot and shoe makers, insurance agents, livery stables, machinists, mantua makers, merchant tailors, milliners, oyster houses, printers, railroads, and wholesalers, There was also one banker, book binder, brass founder, carriage and saddler, carriage maker and trimmer, cotton weigher, export and import company, express company, furniture store, gunsmith, harness maker, hotel, lumber yard, miller, photographer, real estate broker, savings bank, shoe store, tinner, undertaker, and variety store.

The county's population increased approximately twenty per cent between 1860 and 1867. A special 1867 state census listed 11,650 blacks and 3,257 whites. Tallahassee's population according to the federal census of 1870 was 2,023 and 4,813 persons lived within its more inclusive voting precinct.[4] The county's black population increased during Reconstruction, reaching 12,341 in 1870 and 14,830 in 1875, while the white population declined to 2,895 in 1870 and 2,507 in 1875.[5]

An examination of the prewar and postwar business records of William P. Slusser reveals the impact that Reconstruction policies beginning in 1867 had on the economy of the area. Arriving in Tallahassee from Ohio in 1849, he opened a hardware store on Monroe Street in the late 1850s. Before the war most of Slusser's business had been with the large cotton planters and with Tallahasseans who in some way profited from the cotton economy. Tallahassee was not only the state capital of Florida, it was also a major market town for a plantation hinterland extending from Gadsden to Madison counties and into neighboring parts of Georgia. As the terminus of a twenty-mile railroad to the port of St. Marks, Tallahassee was the only town in the region on a railroad line. From the stores in Tallahassee planters purchased manufactured goods shipped in from New York and other parts of the North, and food that came from the Midwest

3. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian,* February 19, 1867.
4. *Eighth Census, 1860, Population,* I, 54-55; SPC 1867; U. S. Census Office, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population,* I (Washington, 1872), 98.
5. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* October 5, 1875.

by way of New Orleans. About 50,000 bales of cotton a year were shipped out of St. Marks to pay for this merchandise.[6]

Slusser's antebellum trade included the sale of bathtubs, washing machines, cistern pumps, and expensive stoves and refrigerators to the affluent citizens in the area. Typical was the order from former Governor Richard K. Call on July 1, 1858, which included a bathtub, foot tub, and spice box for a total of $9.75. Fred R. Cotten, a neighbor of Governor Call on Lake Jackson, purchased "for lady," May 6, 1858, a "garden engine" costing $35.00. Slusser installed roofs, pipes, gutters, and pumps made of zinc, tin, iron and lead for houses, stores, and farm buildings. On June 21, 1859, he sold Michael Ledwith roofing material for a twenty-by-eight foot green house on a plantation owned by Joseph John Williams. Later that year, November 10, Williams paid $136.75 to have a plantation engine room covered with tin.[7] There was a large order, January 24, 1859, from George Washington Parkhill who had married a short time earlier Elizabeth Brooks Bellamy and was now building a new home on his plantation, Tuscawilla, twelve miles east of Tallahassee. Parkhill engaged Slusser to roof a portico and install 399 feet of gutters and downspouts. The bill also listed a firegrate with fixtures costing $48.00.[8]

Much of Slusser's trade was in less expensive items such as kitchen tinware, buckets, cups and milk pails, and washpans. These were sold to local people and in quantity to merchants and peddlers throughout the region who planned to resell the items. In 1858 Slusser sold $27.76 worth of merchandise to Bizzill

6. Clifton Paisley, "Tallahassee Through the Storebooks: War Clouds and War, 1860-1863," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LI (July 1972), 37-51. This is based on a Slusser store daybook, 1860-1863, in the Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. Slusser first rented his Monroe Street store building for $200 a year and on March 21, 1859 made the first $1,000 payment toward purchase of the building for $3,000. One of the first improvements by Slusser was the installation of a pair of iron spiral staircases fabricated in New York at a cost of $122.20. See William P. Slusser Storebooks, Volume II (January 1, 1858-February 24, 1860), 356, and Volume III (July 1, 1858-February 24, 1866; January 2, 1873-May 12, 1873), 269, 450, Manuscript Collection 114, Florida State Library. Hereinafter cited as Storebooks.
7. Storebooks, II, 105, 504, 642; III, 3.
8. *Ibid.*, II, 366; III, 211. Parkhill did not have the enjoyment of the house for long; he was killed in the Battle of Gaines Mill, near Richmond, Virginia, in 1862. C. Parkhill Mays, Monticello, to Paisley, January 8, 1973.

and Snelling of Quincy; $37.10 to Daniel Ladd of Newport; $21.33 to DeCaussey and Bailey of Station 3 (Jefferson County); $37.25 to W. A. Chester of Sofkee, Decatur County, Georgia; $39.40 to William C. Rawls & Co. of Decatur County; $45.74 to John S. Hopson & Co. of Hopsonville, Georgia; and $39.83 to O. H. Mays of Grooversville, Georgia.[9]

The slave plantation system collapsed at the end of the Civil War, and Slusser's lucrative business as a supplier declined proportionately. The depressed condition of Leon County's agriculture after 1865 could not be blamed on political conditions. Much of the problem was due to the one-crop economy of the area. Reconstruction politicians joined southern farm leaders in promoting diversification and some newly transplanted northerners were among the most skilled innovaters in Leon County farming. As it turned out, however, cotton remained dominant, at least until 1879 when a postwar peak production of 9,562 bales was reached. Fruit- and vegetable-growing, cattle-raising, and dairying prospered for only a few years.[10]

Only rarely did planters come into Slusser's store to trade after the war, and when they did it usually was to buy processed or manufactured items shipped into Tallahassee. Progressive farmers realized these commodities could have been grown on local farms, but statistics show that in many cases production after 1865 was lower than it had been before the war. John S. Winthrop, owner of several thousand acres, was a customer in 1876. On two occasions he bought 238 pounds and 359 pounds of meat at eleven and twelve and one-half cents a pound, evidently as "furnish" for croppers on his lands.[11] Slusser's order book for 1875-1879 contains copies of letters to distant suppliers directing shipments of lard, butter, corned beef, shoulders, hams, cheese, onions, and potatoes via Fernandina or Jacksonville.[12] Raw milk was a locally-supplied commodity. An entry, May 2, 1876, records Mrs. Hilton's bill of $362.66 for milk to the City Hotel.[13]

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9. Storebooks, II, 39, 111, 394, 413, 422, 448, 473.
10. Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967* (Gainesville, 1968), 125 (table), *passim.*
11. Storebooks, V (January 1, 1876-January 26, 1878), 295, 315.
12. *Ibid.,* I (June 14, 1875-August 29, 1879), *passim.*
13. *Ibid.,* V, 161.

But if the plantation and farm economy declined during the Reconstruction period, business in Tallahassee prospered, at least so far as Slusser's store is an example. Only rarely is there a reference in his storebooks to the political controversy of the times. An entry on March 15, 1870, shows $1.95 from the cash drawer to pay a debt for George A. Slusser, a relative and employee of the storekeeper, to one "Berger a blue coated scoundrel belonging to the U.S.A."[14] An occasional customer was Harrison Reed, Florida's first Republican governor, who, in May 1870, ordered $54.35 worth of gutter work on his house.[15] Business in Tallahassee probably was helped by the fact that Leon County was the scene of relatively little lawlessness and violence during Reconstruction, as compared with areas like Jackson County, where at the height of Ku Klux Klan activity in 1868-1871 there were 153 killings.[16]

Slusser continued to receive orders for work on the Capitol. One job in June 1870 utilized his services and those of Charles E. Slusser at $4.00 each per day, and the total bill was $92.00. For this or another job, Slusser appears to have been paid with old copper which he resold. The installation of 458 feet of four-inch pipe, perhaps for wood-burning stoves in the Capitol, in July 1870, amounted to $80.20. The installation of a zinc urine trough in January 1877 was paid for with seventy-four and one-half pounds of old copper worth twelve and one-half cents a pound. Slusser filled another order with 182 feet of sheet tin for the Capitol roof at thirty-five cents a foot, collecting $45.50.[17]

A number of new state agencies were established in Florida after the Civil War, including a penitentiary at Chattahoochee. On November 26, 1869, prison officials ordered four dozen tin cups, six dozen tin plates, and a quantity of knives and forks for $34.25. With other supplies the bill was $98.09, collected in

14. *Ibid.*, IV (November 1, 1869-June 24, 1871), 157.
15. *Ibid.*, 226.
16. See *House Reports*, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., No. 22, pt. 13, 222, 228. Florida Secretary of State Johnathan C. Gibbs reported to a Congressional Committee in 1871 that according to his records there were 153 killings in Jackson County. Joseph John Williams, a Leon County planter and the "central chief" of the county's Ku Klux Klan-type Young Men's Democratic Clubs at Tallahassee, Miccosukee, and Centerville, informed the committee that there had only been one killing in Leon County.
17. *Ibid.*, 79, 266, 280, 309; V, 456.

state script, January 15, 1870. The Tallahassee school board asked Slusser to install stoves and piping in certain school buildings. On November 26, 1869, he delivered four box stoves and 233 feet of pipe, and another a few days later. In January he collected $166.35.[18]

Although Conservative Democrats criticized Republican officials for accelerating government spending, these expenditures were welcomed by Tallahassee merchants who no longer had very many affluent planters as customers. According to one historian, Florida state government expenditures rose from $117,808 in 1860 to $187,667 in 1867, the year before a Republican regime came into power. Spending increased to a high of $536,192 in 1873, and declined to $260,187 in 1876.[19]

Metal and metalware, Slusser's principal lines, were apparently in short supply during Reconstruction years, and prices increased as a result. A length of gutter downspout cost forty-five to fifty cents a foot as compared with twenty-one cents in 1860. Roof and gutter work and the sale of ranges and similar items declined sharply after the Civil War, although Slusser continued to handle these items. To offset the decline in the metalware trade, he diversified his store offerings, adding a variety of foods and alcoholic beverages.[20] He also invested extensively in real estate, purchasing several Tallahassee business properties and houses which he planned to rent.

In September 1874, Slusser secured the City Hotel across from the Capitol for $6,400. Fronting on Adams and extending from Pensacola to Lafayette streets, the property ran to Duval Street on the west.[21] It was the major hotel in Tallahassee. The Slusser store had been one of its chief suppliers since before the war. Now, as owner, Slusser continued to furnish its kitchen and bar needs. A typical day's order from the hotel was that of June 15,

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18. *Ibid.*, IV, 24, 27, 84, 89.
19. William Watson Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 672.
20. On June 30, 1870, Slusser paid $30.00 for licenses to deal in liquor and tobacco. Storebooks, IV, 304.
21. Leon County Deed Record Book R, 450, Office of the Circuit Court Clerk, Tallahassee. This property is now the site of Florida's new twenty-two story capitol building. City Hotel had been built in 1833 by former Governor Thomas Brown, who acquired an existing hotel and enlarged it. See Bertram H. Groene, *Antebellum Tallahassee* (Tallahassee, 1971), 29.

1876: four dozen eggs, sixty cents; fourteen pounds ham, $2.66; four bottles vanilla, $1.00; one dozen Milwaukee beer (quarts), $3.00; one dozen St. Louis beer (pints), $2.40; one dozen Bass ale, $3.00; one dozen McEwans ale, $3.00; and eight and one-half pounds sugar, $1.42; for a total of $1723.[22]

Although he never was a wealthy man, Slusser enjoyed a prosperous trade before 1860, and he made money throughout the war as a military supplier for the state and Confederate governments. He continued his prosperity during the Reconstruction era. On July 1, 1858, shortly after opening his store on Monroe Street, Slusser entered a "statement of my effects," listing assets of $8,626: $3,043, merchandise; $1,377, cash; and $3,788, book accounts receivable.[23] His assets continued to grow, and on April 30, 1863, he listed them as $21,375.81: the brick storehouse, $4,000; other real estate, $3,300; store stocks and trade items, $3,000; cash on hand, $4,181.81; and money loaned at interest, $6,844.[24] In 1871, his enterprise continued in sound condition. In that year he carried $10,000 in insurance on his store and its stock, and $3,000 on a second store building that he rented for $850 a year to S. Stern and Brother. Four years later, in 1875, he listed taxable property at $20,200, including the City Hotel, valued at $6,000; hotel furniture, $4,000; storehouse, $3,500; stock in trade, $3,000; and a second store building, a business lot, dwelling, and a stable lot, $3,700.[25]

Besides rising government costs, there were also complaints about increased taxes. Tax bills indeed were heavy if measured by antebellum standards. On the $19,075 valuation placed on Slusser's real and personal properties in 1876 he paid combined state and county taxes of $458.80, as compared with a tax bill of only $19.33 on somewhat less than half this valuation in 1860. The tax rate had jumped from approximately twenty cents per $100 to $2.40 per $100.[26]

Slusser's business was prospering, however, and part of his tax increase reflected this growth. In contrast, big rural acreages supporting a one-crop economy failed to regain their antebellum

22. Storebooks, V, 217.
23. *Ibid.*, II, 155.
24. Paisley, "Tallahassee Through the Storebooks: War Clouds and War, 1860-1863," 50.
25. Storebooks, IV, 99, 452-53; V, 1.
26. LCTR, JR 3889, 3889-90/91.

prosperity. This is revealed by a comparison of taxes on Slusser's store and his other Tallahassee enterprises with those of the Winthrop family plantations consisting of the Barrow Place, Betton Hill, and other acreage.[27] In 1860 the Winthrop properties– 6,184 acres valued at $61,850, 149 slaves assessed at $74,500, and other property worth $5,325, a total of $141,675– bore a state tax of $236.14 and a county tax of $56.67, a total of $292.81. In 1867– without the large valuation on slaves– the Winthrop properties were assessed at $78,800. At a tax rate more than three times the 1860 level, combined state and county taxes were $581.[28] In 1873, the year during which state revenues reached a peak of $664,405, the Winthrops, whose holdings were now valued at $59,088, had a state tax bill of $785.86, and a county tax bill of $561.34, and the total was $$1,347.20.[29]

Landowners were particularly bitter about the high tax rates. In September 1871, at a state taxpayers convention, irate Democrats and Republicans criticized oppressive taxes and the harsh way that they were collected.[30] This and other protests seem to have had some effect, and although between 1873 and 1876 the combined state and Leon County tax rate increased another ten cents, to $2.40, the Winthrop taxes on a much-reduced valuation of $27,504 were $660.09, less than half the 1873 total. This was divided equally between state and county.[31] Governor Reed in 1869 had recommended higher property assessments.[32] Tax revenue increases were achieved, however, not by increasing assessments, but rather by raising the rate, at least in Leon County. The valuation of the Winthrop land was reduced during the Re-

27. These properties had come into possession of the Winthrop family as a result of the steamboat *Home* decision of the Florida Supreme Court in 1857, awarding Leon County properties of Hardy Bryan Croom to heirs of Mrs. Croom. Mr. and Mrs. Croom and their three children all drowned off Cape Hatteras on October 9, 1837. John Still Winthrop (1848-1920), who came into possession of the properties a few years after the Civil War, became known as "the last of the cotton planters." See Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 9-10, 13n. Through the Civil War and Reconstruction period the properties were owned, respectively, by Mrs. Henrietta Smith, mother of Mrs. Croom; Susan E. Winthrop; and the Susan E. Winthrop estate.
23. LCTR, JR 3889.
29. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 672-73; LCTR, JR 3889-90/91.
30. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 599, 619n, 676.
31. LCTR, JR 3889-90/91.
32. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 650-51.

construction period, the lowered valuation probably reflecting a sharp decline in productivity. The land and improvements were valued for tax purposes at $10.00 an acre in 1860, and they were still assessed at this figure in 1867. In 1873, even though the valuation had been reduced to $8.00 an acre, the taxes were higher than at any time during Reconstruction. The valuation was reduced still further in 1876, to $4.00 an acre.[33]

Slusser's taxes continued to increase during and after the war. In 1863 he paid $74.76 in state and county property taxes on a valuation of $22,000. His tax bill in 1867 was $126 on an assessment of $16,200; in 1873, $360.08 on an assessment of $15,750; and in 1876, $458.80.[34] Slusser's records reflect payment of his largest tax, $540, "on hotel, store and all real estate," on January 1, 1876. On his valuation of $22,000 that year, the combined state and county taxes reflected a rate of $2.50 per $100. Besides his taxes, including the $195.66 on the City Hotel, he paid $229 in license fees: $80.00 to the state for the privilege of operating the hotel, and $40.00 for the bar; $85.00 to the county for hotel and bar licenses; and $16.00 to the state and $8.00 to the county for two billiard tables.[35] In addition to these licenses Slusser paid Henry Fitzgiles, city tax collector, $50.00 each for licenses to run the hotel and bar from January 1, 1876, to July 1, 1877. In October 1877 he paid a city property tax of $115.71.[36]

Wages paid by Slusser during Reconstruction differed little from those before the war when clerks received $2.00 to $2.25 a day. George A. Slusser joined his kinsman's enterprise on November 29, 1869, at a wage of $50.00 a month. He paid his own board, $25.00 a month. Skilled workers received up to $4.00 a day. Charles E. Slusser, a metalworker, earned $3.00 a day in February 1870, and on some jobs he was paid $4.00. There was

33. LCTR, JR 3889, 3889-90/91. Without reducing the assessed valuation, succeeding Democratic administrations cut the tax rate back further. While the combined rate for state and county was $2.40 per $100 in 1876, a visitor in 1885 noted that the rate was only about $1.75 at that time, and that this low rate combined with an assessed valuation "that rarely exceeds $5 an acre" enabled holders of large acreages to rent them out to croppers and tenants, "keep only one acre in four in cultivation and realize a net eight per cent on value of whole tract." See Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 36-37,
34. LCTR, JR 3889, 3889-90/91.
35. Storebooks, V, 28.
36. *Ibid.*, 28, 631.

one new element in paying some skilled workers, but the practice did not appear to be widespread. B. H. Chaires received $176, December 13, 1869, for forty-four days of unspecified services at a rate of $4.00 a day. He also received $10.40 in "overtime." Boagner, a carpenter, was paid $2.00 a day for thirty-six and one-half days of work on City Hotel in 1876; his board at the hotel for fifty-seven days at $1.00 a day also was paid.[37]

Unskilled labor was cheap. Jack Smith received credit from Slusser on November 30, 1869, for services of an unspecified kind at the rate of $33.00 per month including rations. The rations were one-half bushel meal, fifty cents; one gallon syrup, fifty cents; and ten pounds meat, $2.00. Smith's total pay was $30.00. By 1875 the pay both for skilled and common labor had declined. Frank Bartlett and W. A. Johnson received $25.00 a month in 1875; after March 2, 1876, Johnson received $30.00. On September 1, 1876, Herman Davis worked for $10.00 a month and board. In 1877 Slusser paid Walter Shine and Robert Gamble $15.00 a month without board, and Butler Lewis $30.00, without board.[38]

Plantation workers, tenants or croppers, received the lowest pay. When Peter, Caroline, and Jerry Coleman signed a rental agreement with Mrs. Susan E. Winthrop for the year 1871 they agreed to pay one-fourth of all their crops as rental on sixty acres of the Barrow Place. To guarantee payment they mortgaged the future crop and their livestock and farming tools.[39] In 1871 Joseph J. Williams, who had hired as many as 300 workers earlier and now had 270 on La Grange, Shiloh, Clairvaux, and two other plantations, noted that after the war, "I gave them a third and fed them. That was too steep and under the second contract I gave them a fourth and fed them; under the third contract I gave them two-fifths and they supported themselves." Some received one-half the crop if they were self-supporting.[40]

Whatever the earnings, inflation in 1869-l870 had greatly reduced purchasing power. Kerosene cost sixty-five to seventy cents a gallon; a shirt, $2.25; bacon, twenty to twenty-one cents a pound;

37. *Ibid.*, IV, 29, 45 ,117, 125; V, 332.
38. *Ibid.*, IV, 29, 250, 287; V, 302, 604, 654.
39. Articles of agreement, signed December 26, 1870, John Still Winthrop Papers (business), 1868-1889, Florida State Library, temporarily in possession of Vernon L. McCord, Tallahassee.
40. *House Reports*, 42nd Cong., 2nd sess., No. 22, pt. 13, 232.

ham, twenty-six cents a pound; and a haircut, fifty cents. In the spring of 1870 syrup cost ninety cents a gallon and twenty-five cents a quart; butter sold for fifty cents a pound; lard, twenty-five cents; coffee, thirty-five cents; and four mullet, twenty-five cents. A half-bushel of corn cost sixty-two and one-half cents, and one-half peck of meal, twenty cents; a bushel, seventy-five cents. In June 1870, William D. Bloxham paid $11.50 for a barrel of flour; earlier a barrel of buckwheat flour had sold for $15.50.[41]

Despite– or perhaps because of– these high prices, David C. Wilson, a local merchant, was affluent enough in December 1870 to order from Slusser roofing for his house that cost $150. The Methodist Episcopal Church in November 1869 engaged Slusser, at a cost of $185.45, to install a new "furnace and heater." The order included some sixteen feet of small pipe and sixteen feet of large tin hot air pipe, the latter costing $1.25 a foot. In May 1870 the City Hotel purchased a lamp for the bar, another for the office, and an eight-quart ice cream freezer; the total bill was $25.60. The Knights of Pythias, 100F, and Jackson Lodge No. 1, Free and Accepted Masons, occasionally ordered from Slusser.[42]

In the five-year period 1870 to 1875, both prices and wages declined. During these years there was considerable construction activity in Tallahassee. In the fall of 1873, Alexander Gallie, a Scottish merchant who had moved to Tallahassee from Virginia in the 1850s, began building Gallie's Hall, a two-story gabled brick building on the northeast corner of Adams and Jefferson streets. In later years it was called Munroe's Opera House. Gallie's grocery was on the first floor, and a 400-seat auditorium that would be a Tallahassee institution for the next thirty-nine years occupied the second floor. It served as a theater for touring dramatic companies, a place for school exercises, and a hall for a variety of meetings. There was a stage at the north end and at the south a gallery where spectators were invited to "hang your feet over the banister and smoke Rawls' Huckleberry Cigars." The public could enter by way of an iron staircase which led to a second floor piazza overhanging the sidewalk on Jefferson Street. The building was not yet completed when there was

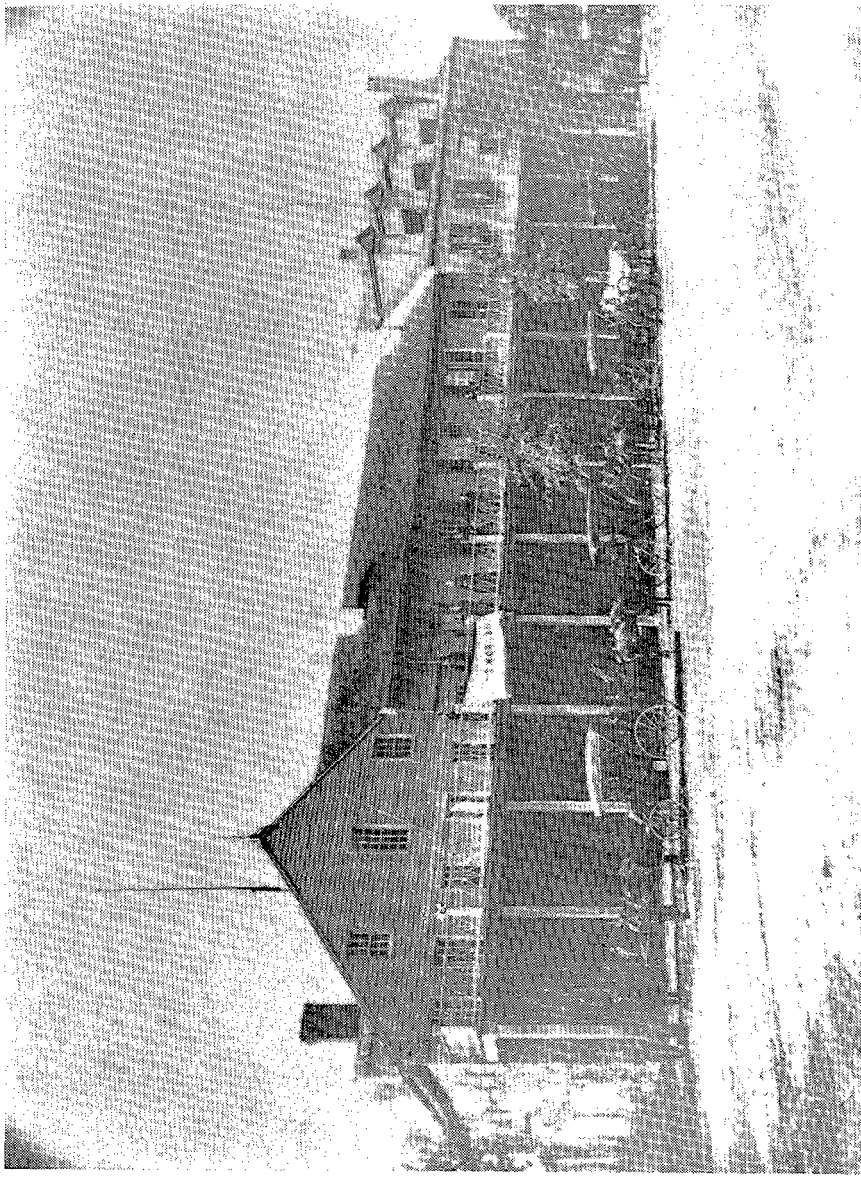
41. Storebooks, IV, 4, 7, 8, 67, 163, 180, 182, 188, 195, 301.
42. *Ibid.*, IV, 11, 238, 414.

a benefit musical sponsored by the women of the Presbyterian Church on September 26, 1874.[43]

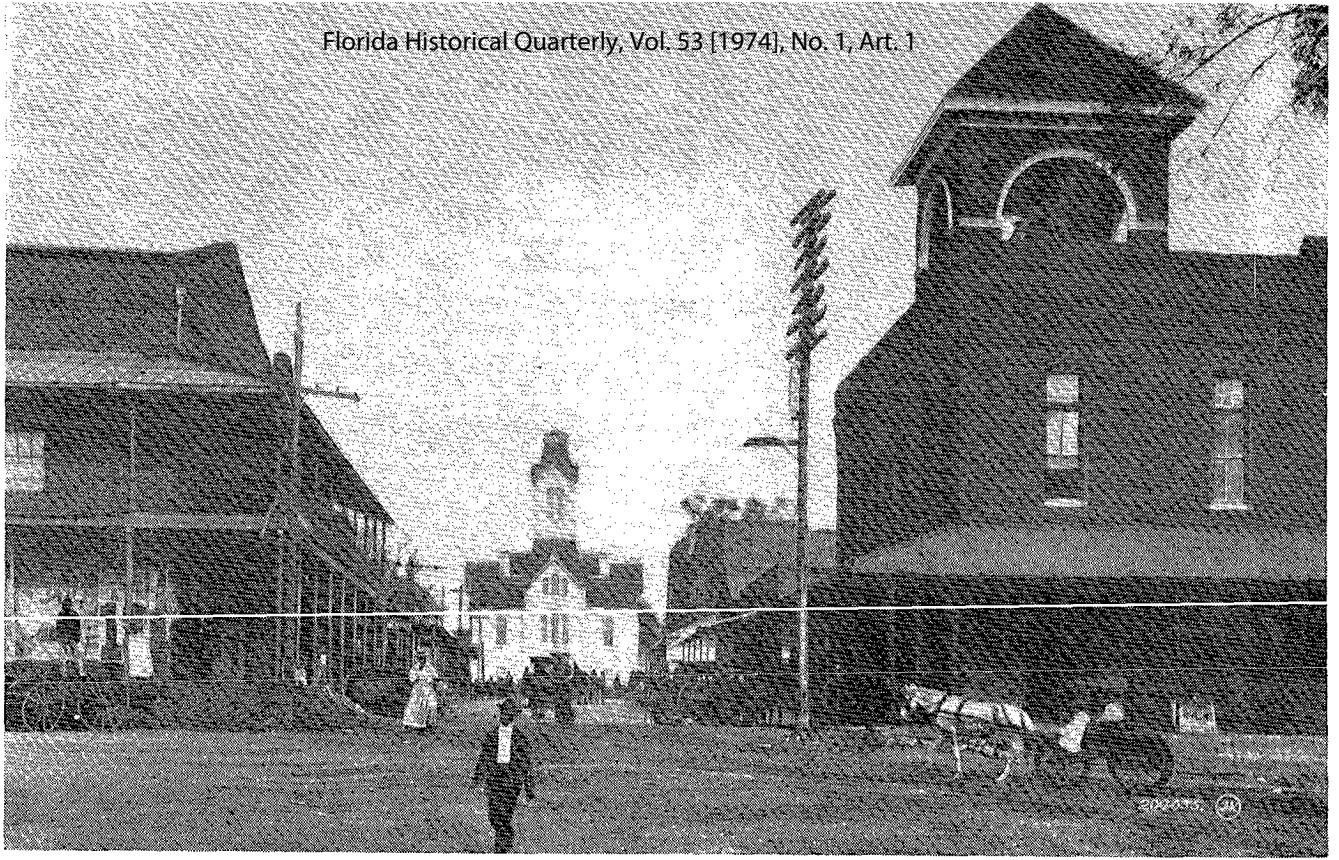
Dramatic troupes, previously limited to occasional performances in the Capitol or City Hotel, now began visiting Tallahassee frequently, as evidenced by the entries in the City Hotel register.[44] On January 4, 1875, the fourteen members of E. B. Brown's Dramatic Co. engaged lodging there, as they got ready for a performance of "Marble Heart." On January 13, 1875, the five-member Burlesque Opera Troupe took rooms, and announced a performance featuring Mrs. James Maas, "Queen of the Lyric Stage." The hotel clerk entered her name in large decorated letters. On December 12, 1875, Louis B. Pike and the Original Louisiana Minstrels were in Tallahassee. The most popular show of the period was the Company of General Tom Thumb, who, on May 6, 1876, played to sellout matinee and evening performances. Six rooms of City Hotel housed the diminutive guests.

Gallie's Hall was used for a variety of functions. Miss Belle Boyd and her sister, from Washington City registered at the City Hotel on June 3, 1876. Miss Boyd gave a lecture at Gallie's Hall, and admission was fifty cents.[45] In January 1875, a Centennial Ball was held to raise funds for Florida's participation in the Centennial Exposition of 1876 celebrating 100 years of American independence.[46] In the same year it was used for a May Day celebration directed by Mrs. Williams, principal of the Female Academy.[47] In March 1875, the hall was decorated with strawberries, cabbages, turnips, beets, and Japanese plums– all the garden produce available– to interest a delegation of Indiana

43. Maxie C. Estes, "A Century of Theatre Activity in the Capital City of Florida: An Historical Study of Theatrical Entertainment in Tallahassee, Florida, from 1857 to 1957" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1962), 26-28. That building stands today (1974) and although the stage, balcony, and seats have been removed and the auditorium is locked, one can see against the light blue of the walls where stage, balcony, and stairway to the balcony once joined the walls.
44. Unless otherwise noted, the material in the following paragraphs is from City Hotel Register, Tallahassee (December 28, 1874-December 31, 1879), Manuscript Collection 115, Florida State Library.
45. Whether or not the hotel guest was the real Confederate spy is unknown. According to E. Merton Coulter, *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 181, imposters representing themselves as Belle Boyd toured the South at this time.
46. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 19, 1875.
47. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1875.



Morgan Hotel (formerly City Hotel) about 1880. Trees in front were probably planted by Slusser in 1877 and cut down in 1973 to make way for the new capitol.
(State Photographic Archives, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee)



Munro Opera House (formerly Gallie's Hall), left, about 1905. Market building is across street and courthouse is in background.
(State Photographic Archives, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee)

newspaper editors who were in the Tallahassee area. They were registered at the City Hotel.[48]

Construction in Tallahassee was particularly active in 1875. In September the *Floridian* announced that the Tallahassee Manufacturing Company with offices near the depot would soon be in production, taking ginned lint cotton and spinning it into thread and weaving the thread into coarse cloth.[49] The Methodist Church purchased a half-ton bell in Cincinnati at a cost of $320, and had it installed in the church. This bell joined that of St. John's Episcopal Church in summoning worshippers to services.[50] Lively Corner, a two-story business structure, was erected on the southwest corner of Clinton (College) and Monroe, and in the fall of 1875 the *Floridian* commented: "We doubt if larger stocks have been brought here since the war." Major Ball at Lively's Corner had "anything from a thousand dollar cashmere shawl to a hairpin" for sale, while other merchants were preparing for brisk fall and winter business.[51]

The editor of the Tallahassee paper was gratified that Mr. Slusser was renovating City Hotel and engaging the services of a French chef and a first-class barber. The latter, Frederick Roth of New York, was said to be the best barber since "Old John," who was remembered by many local oldtimers.[52] Slusser's storebook records the expenditure of $215.68 for a new tin roof on the hotel's front piazza and additional sums for carpentry, painting blinds, and general refurbishing.[53] After stopping at the hotel, Major Sidney Herbert described it in the Savannah *News* as "one of the most pleasant and comfortable places at which southern tourists can stop."[54]

In addition to entertainers and delegations of Northerners, many others registered, including some travelers and others who were looking over the area for business reasons or perhaps because they were planning to move to Florida. There were guests from New York, Saratoga Springs, Hoboken, New Haven, and St. Louis, and some even from Cairo, Illinois, Cairo, Egypt, and

48. Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 65-66.
49. *Ibid.*, 31; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, September 28, 1875.
50. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 14, 1875.
51. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1875.
52. *Ibid.*, October 19, 1875, April 4, 1876.
53. Storebooks, V, 247, 332.
54. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 21, 1876.

Hong Kong. An occasional name on the register appeared obviously born the fertile imagination of the hotel clerk, who, on Halloween 1875, registered "Rang Tang, Africa;" on November 18, 1876, "A. A. Tuttle, Sandwich Islands;" and on December 3, 1876, "Prince Otto Bisbark *[sic]* Berlin, Prussia." The thirty-four member troupe of John Robinson's Circus arrived January 9, 1875.

On a tour of Florida gathering material for a guidebook, Sidney Lanier and his wife were at the hotel, June 8, 1875. He was charmed by Tallahassee and pleased with the accomodations of the City Hotel, describing it as "a genuine old-fashioned tavern, with a long double piazza running along its entire front, with many nooks and corners here and there, and with a general suggestion of old-timey ease and honest comfort arising indefinably out of its aspect." Lanier ascended the rear second-story porch to look out at the hills which so reminded him of his native Macon, Georgia, that he called the Tallahassee area "Piedmont Florida."[55]

Increasingly during the election year 1876 there were political visitors in Tallahassee. On January 15, 1876, Congressman Ben F. Butler of Boston registered at the City Hotel. George F. Drew of Ellaville, who would shortly become the Democratic candidate for governor, stayed there several times in 1875 and 1876. His Republican opponent during the 1876 gubernatorial campaign, Lieutenant Governor Marcellus Stearns, also engaged rooms, and during the election canvass, his associates, according to John Wallace, a contemporary Negro politician, "could be seen at night hovering around Stearns in his room at the City Hotel."[56] Among the most frequent Republican visitors was Malachi Martin, a well-known Chattahoochee politician.

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55. Sidney Lanier, *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History* (Philadelphia, 1875; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1973) 103, 107-08. An engraving on page 107 shows City Hotel but without a row of young trees in front that can be seen in an 1880 photograph. In March 1877 Slusser employed four laborers at a cost of $16.69 to set out and box some trees, paying the men out of the City Hotel account. These doubtless constituted some of the large liveoaks cut down along Adams Street in 1973 to make way for the new Capitol building. See Storebooks, V, 478, 480.

56. John Wallace, *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida after the Close of the Civil War* (Jacksonville, 1888; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 340.

The relative trickle of political visitors before the general election, November 7, 1876, turned into a flood five days later with the arrival on November 12, of Senator William E. Chandler of New Hampshire and many other nationally prominent Republicans. They had come to Florida to gather evidence that could help swing Florida's electoral votes into the Republican column and elect Rutherford B. Hayes president of the United States.[57] On the same day that Chandler checked in at City Hotel, General John M. Brannan and several other officers of the United States Army, also registered. Brannan and twelve companies of soldiers were supposed to preserve order in Florida during the vote validation process. Several Democrats also arrived that same day, including Julian Hartridge of Savannah. Newspapermen Henry W. Grady of Georgia representing the *New York Herald* and Howard Carroll of the *New York Times* were also hotel guests. Other politicians and reporters registered at the hotel throughout that week.

When the City Hotel was filled, additional guests were housed at Mrs. E. A. Brokaw's boarding house. If Democrats and Republicans mingled at City Hotel, only Democrats were welcomed at Mrs. Brokaw's. These included Manton Marble, former owner of the *New York World* and a close friend of Democratic presidential nominee Samuel J. Tilden; Leverett Salstonstall, D. W. Sellers, and John R. Reed of Boston; Samuel G. Thompson of Philadelphia; and G. W. Guthrie of Pittsburgh. The Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* reported that "a large number of prominent Tallahasseans" called at the Brokaw House one night to serenade the Northerners, who appeared at the door to acknowledge this courtesy.[58]

New guests arrived at the City Hotel almost as soon as the old ones departed. The hotel bulged with visitors; its rooms and lobbies buzzed with political talk during most of November and

57. See Jerrell H. Shofner, "Florida in the Balance: The Electoral Count of 1876," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVII (October 1968), 122-150, and "Florida Courts and the Disputed Election of 1876," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLVIII (July 1969), 26-46.

58. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 21, 1876. Mrs. Brokaw was the widow of Peres B. Brokaw, whose beautiful house still stands at North Meridian and Miccosukee roads. Mrs. Brokaw's boarding house, however, probably was another house, not now standing. Interview with Mrs. D. A. Avant, Tallahassee, February 14, 1973.

the early days of December, as Republicans and Democrats prepared their cases for the election canvassing board. All of this meant welcome business for Mr. Slusser. As the hotel kitchen and bar satisfied the needs of his guests, his store delivered groceries and drink supplies. On November 15 the bill for groceries was $57.95, and included a firkin of cooking butter, a barrel of flour, thirty pounds of sugar, and twenty-five pounds of coffee. The following day the bill was $44.86 for an order that included forty-five pounds of butter at thirty-seven and one-half cents a pound. Mrs. Brokaw's orders also increased; on November 20 the bill was $25.80.[59]

Among the Republican guests at City Hotel in November were General Lew Wallace of Indiana, John A. Kasson of Iowa, George M. Biddle of Philadelphia, A. Wheeler of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and former Governor Edward F. Noyes of Ohio. On December 5, after most of the political visitors had departed, the hotel clerk, evidently tired of registering names of prominent visitors, entered this notation about new arrivals: "George Washington and U. S. Grant, Washington City, and General Sherman, U.S. Army."

The hectic month of politicking and electioneering, during which many coded telegrams were exchanged between Washington and Tallahassee, resulted in the decision that Hayes had won the Florida electoral vote. The State's canvassing board ruled that Marcellus Stearns also had been elected governor, but this decision was contested by the Democrats, who won a favorable ruling from the Florida Supreme Court. Thus, George F. Drew was inaugurated on the Capitol steps on January 2, 1877. City Hotel was filled to capacity with guests who had assembled to celebrate the Democratic triumph. Almost as soon though as these inaugural guests checked out of their rooms, the hotel was filled again with thirty-four members of Howe's Great London Circus on January 9, 1877. Forty-two railroad cars transported this troupe, its animals, and equipment to Tallahassee.[60]

Regardless of what revisionist historians have written about the Reconstruction era in Florida, most of the people of the time believed that it had been a time of high-handed political

59. Storebooks, V, 390, 391, 396.
60. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 9, 1877.

chicanery. Nor have the revisionists successfully challenged the contention of historians like William Watson Davis and writers like John Wallace that the period was marked by corruption on a scale hitherto unknown in Florida. Was the period of Radical Reconstruction also a time of severe economic repression and hardship? Perhaps the majority of whites did not fare well, and it is certain that the economic gains of blacks did not match their political ones. But it was not a time of hardship for William Slusser, who had adjusted to the times and who enjoyed a prosperity brought about by the expenditures of expanding state government that replaced, at least in part, the loss of his old plantation accounts. Slusser continued to increase his income over the years, and when he died, March 7, 1892, he left an estate valued at $40,198.[61]

61. Paisley, "Tallahassee Through the Storebooks: War Clouds and War, 1860-1863," 50-51n.

FLORIDA'S DISRUPTED MAIL SERVICE, 1821-1845

by RICHARD J. STANABACK*

WHEN FLORIDA BECAME an American territory in 1821, almost no means of communication existed between its settlements or with other parts of the country. If a viable government and a prosperous economy were to be instituted, effective links of correspondence would have to be developed. To accomplish these ends, the post office department in succeeding years authorized many post roads and post offices. By 1845, there were approximately fifty post offices, and 2,920 miles of post roads in Florida.[1]

The existence of these facilities did not guarantee efficient service. In fact, mail delivery continued to be more erratic than regular. The reasons for errant mail were many. Contractors, riders, and postmasters often bungled their jobs, there were attacks by robbers and Indians, and sometimes bad weather caused trouble. The post office tried to remedy the situation by fining contractors, removing lax postmasters, and by sending out inspectors to recover lost mail. In many instances, however, it could do little to prevent the failures or it found its measures ineffective.

While Florida's merchants, planters, government officials, and military personnel were all dependent upon a prompt exchange of information, newspaper publishers were the most concerned about receiving recent news. If they did not know what was happening elsewhere in Florida and in the country, it was reflected by a dearth of news in their journals. Editors, therefore, were usually the first to complain about failures of the mails-a fortunate circumstance for postal historians.

Pensacola apparently suffered postal problems throughout the territorial period. In the beginning the problem was vexing

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1. *Senate Documents*, 29th Cong., 1st sess., No. 1, 862-63; *The Biennial Register of All Officers and Agents In the Service of the United States* (Washington, 1842), 227-29.

when the mails from Washington did not bring news concerning the political organization of the territory.[2] In 1825, a series of failures left West Florida residents with scant outside contact for almost a month. The editor of the *Gazette* noted:

> For three weeks past we have been disappointed with regard to the mails; two of the three which came last, brought us far short of the usual supplies of paper, and by the last we have received but a single paper from the North. These repeated failures cannot be accounted for, and we hope the same cause of complaint may not exist long. Our readers will excuse the scarcity of foreign news in our papers to-day *[sic]*, as it is occasioned by the want of papers to extract from.[3]

The post office tried to substitute steamboats and stages for horses on Pensacola routes, but mails continued to be irregular.[4] In fact, it was reported in 1838 that the town had received better service before the changes were made.[5] Mail deliveries deteriorated to such an extent the following year, that one editor wrote:

> We beg of the Postmasters on the way to turn up the barrel in which these precious documents newspapers have been stored and give them to us, fresh from the bottom. We shall thus, though something late, keep up with the news as it *used to be known* at the north, and, shall escape all danger of being shocked by intelligence of the death of friends and the election of enemies, before it could possibly be known that the former were sick or that the latter were candidates.[6]

Further breakdowns in Pensacola's communications occurred in 1840, despite the assurance, on paper, of apparently excellent service. So frustrating was the dearth of outside news that it was suggested the mail be delivered via Texas if it assured some improvement.[7] When five missing mails finally arrived at Pensacola from St. Joseph in 1840, the gratified editor of the *Gazette* exclaimed: "Thankful for the smallest favor, we propose

2. Pensacola *Floridian,* December 31, 1821, May 4, 25, 1822; Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States,* 26 vols., *The Territory of Florida* (Washington, 1934-1962), XXII, 347.
3. *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser,* January 1, 1825.
4. *Ibid.,* January 4, March 7, 1828; Pensacola *Gazette and Florida Advertiser,* February 13, 1830; *Pensacola Gazette,* February 1, 1833, October 11, 1834, August 29, 1835, January 16, 1836.
5. *Pensacola Gazette,* February 24, 1838.
6. *ibid.,* December 7, 1839.
7. *Ibid.,* February 1, 1840.

that it shall be ascertained who may have been the immediate cause of this benefaction to the readying public, and that we shall give him *a* public dinner."[8] In 1841, the paper noted that "a man might travel from London and visit Lakes Erie and Champlain and New Orleans in less time than it takes the mail to travel from Tallahassee to Pensacola."[9]

The inferior service prompted the citizens of Pensacola, as it did people elsewhere in Florida, to demand that Congress and the post office department do something about the problem.[10] But the post office, because of the cost involved, either would not or could not stem the tide of service interruptions in West Florida. As a result, a Pensacola paper commented on the situation: "We know that the capital of our Territory has not been captured by the Seminoles or swallowed up by an earthquake, only because we see no mention made by the northern papers of any such disaster."[11]

Tallahassee, although it was the capital of the territory, fared no better in its postal service than other parts of Florida. It was not unusual for letters, but no newspapers, to arrive one day and for newspapers but no other mail the following day.[12] This inconsistency often caused people to post duplicate letters in the hope that at least one would reach its destination.[13] In March 1832, the lack of northern news again irritated the people of Tallahassee who were awaiting information on the tariff, the national bank controversy, and nullification.[14] Attempts by the post office to reduce the irregularities were not very successful, and by January 1835, the scarcity of intelligence prompted the editor of the *Floridian* to lament: "What we shall do next week for matter for our columns Heaven only knows. Our stock of 'horrible disasters,' 'murders,' and 'suicides' is nearly exhausted."[15] Route improvements were provided Tallahassee in the latter

8. *Ibid.*, December 5, 1840.
9. *Ibid.*, February 13, 1841.
10. *Ibid.*, March 20, 27, April 24, December 18, 1841.
11. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1842.
12. Tallahassee *Florida Intelligencer*, April 28, 1826.
13. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIV, 328.
14. Tallahassee *Floridian*, March 27, 1832.
15. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1835.

part of the territorial period, but mail deliveries continued to be slow and erratic through 1845.[16]

A similar condition prevailed in East Florida. In 1822 it was not uncommon for territorial officials in St. Augustine to utilize special messengers in place of the mails.[17] When a mail did arrive, it frequently contained letters posted months before. This was the case in August 1823, when Governor William P. DuVal received papers sent by the state department in Washington back in November 1822.[18] The local editor was convinced that postal workers were often at fault for such delays. "Is it not time to cry, Rats, Rats? Aye, and if they could be caught should they not be made to squeak a little?"[19] Whether or not this was the case, there were few improvements in the ensuing years. By one account, it took the Jacksonville *Courier* eight days to traverse the forty miles to St. Augustine in 1835.[20] The western mails, in particular, suffered delays and suspensions.[21] So exasperated was one St. Augustine editor with the service in 1840, that he satirized, "Tallahassee, with reference to intercommunication with her sister cities of the East, may be literally said to be in the *far west;* and the transit of news between the two places, is about equal to the length of time required for an European correspondence."[22] But this and other complaints failed to produce a more effective postal service, and editors, local officials, and ordinary citizens had to be satisfied with tenuous communication links throughout the territorial period.[23]

One reason for erratic Florida mails was that many postal contractors or their employees were incompetent. Although the post office tried to select reliable men to transport the mails, assigned schedules were often ignored, bundles of newspapers and other items were left behind rather than transported to the next post office, and prescribed postal routes were not always

16. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1836; Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 13, 1841; Tallahassee *Star of Florida*, August 25, 1841, December 6, 1844.
17. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 556.
18. St. Augustine *East Florida Herald*, August 16, 1823.
19. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1824.
20. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1835.
21. *Ibid.*, May 3, August 29, 1837, January 8, 1838, May 27, 1840; St. Augustine *News*, February 23, 1839.
22. St. Augustine *News*, January 24, 1840.
23. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1840, May 28, 1841, February 26, 1842; St. Augustine *Florida Herald, and Southern Democrat*, April 9, July 16, 1841, Februay 27, 1844; Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXVI, 1023.

followed.[24] In some cases, carriers turned mail over to strangers or deposited it carelessly along the roadside.[25] Delays sometimes occurred when one contractor, who was inadequately trained, took over the route.[26] Understandably, the reaction of Florida papers to these derelictions was caustic:

> The irregularity of this Mail is a grievance that must be remedied before it can become a public convenience– it never arriving at the times stated, by one, two, and three days, and lastly for more than a week.– Our correspondence which is of some importance to us has been entirely interrupted, in consequence of this irregular conduct of the contractor, or the carriers for whose faithfulness he is responsible.[27]

Contractors who failed to live up to their contracts were sometimes fined.[28] Stockton, Stokes, and Company was fined $500 in 1837 for fifty-six failures to deliver the mails on schedule. The company continued to pile up failures, and it received fines of more than $4,000 in 1840 and $1,200 in 1841.[29] Contractors were also fined for other reasons, including allowing a Negro to carry the mail, substituting horses for wagon and stage conveyances, and not keeping the mails dry.[30]

Some postmasters were also responsible for the loss of mail or its failure to be delivered properly.[31] In some instances mail was sent without necessary locks and seals, thereby hazarding its safety.[32] Other times there were locks, but no keys.[33] Mail delays occurred when postmasters carelessly deposited mail in

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24. Carter, Territorial *Papers*, XXIII, 297-98.
25. *Ibid.*, 486, 504; *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, February 9, 16, 1827.
26. Tallahassee *Floridian*, January 3, 1835.
27. St. Augustine *East Florida Herald*, March 28, 1826.
28. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXIII, 504; *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., No. 138, 37, 55; *House Documents*, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., No. 263, 2, 19, 47-48; *House Documents*, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., No. 263, 2, 19, 47-48; *House Documents*, 27th Cong., 3rd sess. No. 204, 38, 70-72.
29. *House Documents*, 25th Cong., 2nd sess., No. 138, 55; *House Documents*, 26th Cong., 2nd sess., No. 84, 67-68; *House Documents*, 27th Cong., 2nd sess., No. 263, 47-48. The failures were numerous as it was customary to charge only five or ten dollars for each occurence.
30. *House Documents*, 26th Cong., 2nd sess., No. 84, 29, 67, 73. Negroes had been excluded as carriers of the mail since 1802 for fear that they would tamper with it. See *Annals* of Congress, 7th Cong., 1st sess., 1371-72.
31. Carter, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 579; XXIV, 102, 144.
32. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 322-23.
33. *Ibid.*, 436.

sacks addressed to the wrong town or state.[34] Postmasters refused at times to add mail to bags that had been tied or they disposed of numbers of newspapers because of their bulk.[35] Editors who suspected such negligence warned: "There is neglect somewhere[.] Look out Post Masters, or we shall light upon you like a Duck on a June Bug."[36]

Sometimes inspectors checked complaints of the inefficiency of postal employees. After one such investigation in 1828, the postmaster of Escambia County was chided by Washington: "I will thank you to use special care that all packages shall receive their proper direction, so as to prevent a repetition of the errors complained of."[37]

Mail robbery was another vexing problem. Postal clerks were sometimes discovered stealing money or bank drafts by opening letters. An employee in the St. Augustine post office was caught in 1826.[38] In 1837, James Haven, a mail carrier serving Appalachicola and Chattahoochee was arrested for tampering with the mails, and in 1845, another carrier was apprehended for stealing checks and then forging them.[39] So flagrant was this activity that it was not uncommon for travelers to find open letters or empty mail bags strewn along post roads.[40]

On July 14, 1827, the carrier on the Tallahassee-Pensacola route was attacked by two highwaymen. "One of the villians discharged a rifle at him, the ball of which passed through his hat, within an inch of his head; the other immediately made at him with a large Spanish dirk knife, with which he attempted to stab him, but fortunately only cut through his clothes."[41] In this attempt the thieves were not only unsuccessful in grabbing the mail pouch, but one of them, Martin Hutto, was later caught and sentenced to two years in jail.[42] But prison

34. *Pensacola Gazette and Florida Advertiser,* April 18, 1828; St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* September 6, 1832; *St. Joseph Times,* January 8, April 28, 1840.
35. *St. Joseph Times,* January 8, 1840; St. Augustine *News,* April 2, 1842.
36. *St. Joseph Times,* July 23, 1839.
37. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 160.
38. *Ibid.,* XXIII, 70, 646-47, 664-65, 687-88, 729.
39. *Ibid.,* XXV, 379, 389; XXVI, 1049-50.
40. *Ibid.,* XXVI, 490, 904, 909-11, 920.
41. *Ibid.,* XXIII, 940n.
42. Hutto escaped custody three times in 1827-1828, before and after his conviction as a mail robber. See *Ibid.,* 1062, XXIV, 17-20; *Pensacola Gazette and Florida Adviser,* November 9, 1827, October 14, 1828.

sentences did not stop the depredations, and eventually the robbers became bold enough to attack even the post offices.[43]

Besides having to contend with highwaymen, Florida post riders also had to keep a wary eye out for Seminoles, especially after the outbreak of the Second Seminole War. In September 1835, news reached Jacksonville that Indians had killed a carrier on the road between Tampa Bay and Camp King.[44] According to the report, he had been "shot and and *[sic]* scalped, his bowels taken out, and thrown into a pond."[45] In November 1839, a mail wagon was attacked between St. Augustine and Picolata, and in February 1840, a mail coach headed for Jacksonville from St. Augustine was stopped and the driver and carrier murdered.[46] Two additional riders were found murdered on a Tallahassee route in 1841.[47] These atrocities usually alerted the mail riders, and at any sign of Indians a rider would seek refuge in the nearest town without concern for mail schedules.[48] Florida officials called for special troops to protect the mails, and the request was granted, but the dangers continued until the cessation of hostilities.[49]

The climate was another problem plaguing the carriers. Rain storms drenched them and their mail pouches and turned creeks and streams into raging torrents which were sometimes impassable for several days. Tallahassee found its communication with the outside world cut in this manner several times.[50] High winds and hurricanes disrupted mail deliveries to seacoast towns like St. Augustine. In 1835 storms disabled Key West's only postal packet, and for several months little national news was available.[51]

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43. St. Augustine *News,* October 15, 1842.
44. *Jacksonville Courier,* September 2, 1835; Tallahassee *Floridian,* September 19, 1835.
45. *Jacksonville Courier,* September 3, 1835, quoted in St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* September 10, 1835.
46. St. Augustine *News,* November 29, 1839, February 21, 1840; Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXVI, 110, 118.
47. St. Augustine *Florida Herald, and Southern Democrat,* August 31, 1841.
48. *Jacksonville Courier,* December 24, 1835, January 14, 1836.
49. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXVI, 369.
50. Tallahassee *Advocate,* March 7, 1829; Tallahassee *Floridian,* January 4, 1834, March 28, 1835; Tallahassee *Sentinel,* December 10, 31, 1844.
51. St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* September 9, 1829, March 6, October 9, 1834; St. Augustine *News,* September 11, 1840; *Key West Gazette,* July 25, August 8, 1835.

Florida mails were also interrupted by other problems and conditions. Contractors failed to purchase provisions for their horses, post riders were thrown from their saddles, and stages overturned. At other times, mails were held back because of a lack of locks with which to secure them, stages departed without the mails, post offices burned to the ground, and steamboats became stuck on sandbars.[52] Between 1821 and 1845 Florida's inhabitants experienced a plethora of interruptions in their mails. Correspondence was delayed days and even weeks despite efforts by the post office to remedy the situation. One service in which the people expected improvement with the coming of statehood was their postal service.

52. Tallahassee *Floridian,* March 27, 1832, October 28, 1837; St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* September 5, 1833; St. Augustine *Florida Herald, and Southern Democrat,* June 5, 1843; St. Augustine *News,* February 9, 1845; *St. Joseph Times,* August 6, 1840; Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel,* November 11, 1842.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Segregation Factor in the Florida Democratic Gubernatorial Primary of 1956. By Helen L. Jacobstein. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1972. 84 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, appendix. $2.00.)

This slender volume is both more and less than the title promises. It is more in that Ms. Jacobstein dealt with the primary in all of its aspects and ramifications, devoting only one chapter exclusively to the role of segregation, and less in that the racial question deserved greater emphasis, for segregation was not just an issue. It was *the* issue.

Ms. Jacobstein began her account by setting Florida in the sectional racial context and added a discussion of the state's general political climate prior to the primary. The remainder of the work focused on the campaign– its outcome and significance. The contest was a four-man affair pitting incumbent LeRoy Collins against former Governor Fuller Warren, former Florida House Speaker Farris Bryant, and political novice Sumter L. Lowry. Lowry emerged as the heavy, injecting race into the campaign and forcing his opponents to defend segregation. Governor Collins portrayed himself as the most moderate of the candidates. He pointed out that Florida had had no desegregation during his tenure, but also deplored the introduction of the segregation issue, emphasizing that there were other equally important matters.

Collins won an unprecedented first primary victory. Afterward, Florida appeared little altered on the racial scene, but gradually change occurred. Collins aided change both by what he did, such as creating a state bi-racial committee, and by what he did not do, e.g., not resisting desegregation when it came. His conduct brought the fulfillment of a commitment which the author contended Florida made in the primary, a commitment "toward an increasingly moderate racial policy from which it could turn back only with great difficulty" (p. 77).

The book was originally a master's thesis, which is reflected in the less than exhaustive research. Ms. Jacobstein, for

instance, depended heavily upon five newspapers, three of which were published in Miami. The footnotes reveal citations from only three sources published since 1964. There is no bibliography or index. A few factual errors and misquotations appear here and there. But, these criticisms aside, this is still a valuable treatment of an important episode in modern Florida history.

Valdosta State College JOSEPH A. TOMBERLIN

Mining in the New World. By Carlos Prieto. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1973. xvii, 239 pp. Foreword, editor's note, illustrations, introduction, chronology, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

Carlos Prieto is a Spanish-born Mexican lawyer. He became associated with the Monterrey Iron and Steel Co., Inc., in 1923 and has been its president since 1945, The purpose of his book is to prove that "mining was the creator of the peoples and nations of Ibero-America as they exist today" (p. 2).

Prieto discusses ten propositions. *All* men have been interested in precious metals. Mining co-existed with the hostile environment. Metals in the Antilles, the Mainland, and Brazil were mined by practical, individual prospectors. Only the discovery of metals opened Brazil's interior. American bullion benefited Western Europe and Ibero-America. Mining center needs developed agriculture, livestock raising, crafts, commerce, and roads. Transplanted mining techniques kept pace with European techniques. Mining laws adapted to American conditions. The Iberians came to settle permanently, witness the cities, churches, ports, fortifications, and universities built, plants and animals introduced. Independence was inevitable because Ibero-American man, including mining engineers, had emerged. The book closes with a chronology of discovery and the development of mining.

Prieto does not prove his thesis. He discards consideration of vital factors which integratedly molded Ibero-America: the church, administration, intellectual trends, political thought, and society. Nevertheless, the record of the mother countries stands even in the face of English and French opinion, which

pretends to superior colonizing ability. After the first generation, Prieto says, the Ibero-Americans shaped events and institutions (p. 112). He forgets that power resided in Iberia, not America.

That mineral production developed Ibero-America materially is the subject of Prieto's lucidly and comprehensively written, well-organized, excellent book, which is a history of mining exclusively. More than half of the 423-item bibliography deals entirely with mining. There are no general interpretive studies on the forces that formed Ibero-America. Unusual illustrations of mining techniques, sites, and towns enhance the book.

Florida history students will be mildly annoyed by a few dates and statements in the chronology. Ponce de León discovered Florida in 1513, not 1512. Chicora was discovered under Ayllón's sponsorship in 1521, not 1520. Ayllón's second expedition occurred in 1525, not 1524. Cabeza de Vaca began marching toward Mexico from the Texas coast in 1534, after Narváez's expedition had been shipwrecked, not from Florida in 1528. De Soto's exploration of the Southeast, not just the Mississippi region, ended in 1542, not 1541. Finally, Menéndez founded St. Augustine in 1565, not 1560.

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument
St. Augustine, Florida LUIS RAFAEL ARANA

The Price of Loyalty: Tory Writings from the Revolutionary Era. Edited by Catherine S. Crary. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1973. 481 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $12.50.)

This compilation of writings of Loyalists during the American Revolution contains an interesting variety of personal experiences and opinions of those supporters of the Crown who felt betrayed both by the enmity they encountered in America and by the ineffectiveness and ultimate capitulation of the British. The Board of Editors of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution is to be congratulated for including among the volumes published under its auspices a work on the long-neglected Loyalists.

Ms. Crary is to be commended also for her careful search through published and unpublished materials and in public and private collections which has resulted in a rich compendium of Loyalist writings. Of special interest are excerpts from the *Letterbook* of the Reverend Henry Caner, rector of King's Chapel, Boston; the *Letterbook* of Henry Hulton, commissioner of customs, Boston; the DeLancey Papers; Richard Cartwright's journal; and materials supporting the legend that James Rivington, publisher of the *New York (Royal) Gazette,* was a double agent.

The editor has succeeded in her plan to present the personal dilemmas of many individuals for their human interest to the modern reader without attempting to support any particular thesis. Her introduction is an informative and objective account of the role and experiences of Loyalists, and the narrative introductions to the selections provide sufficient historical and biographical information to guide the reader through the mass of disparate materials. However, her surprising use of the term "tory"– an epithet of ignominy– for Loyalists, even in her subtitle, and the occasional Patriot bias found in her narratives subtly diminish the reader's compassion for the Loyalists, which was surely not the editor's intention.

Selections from Loyalists in the northern colonies are by far the most interesting and best edited and fortunately form the greater part of the book. The reader is caught up in the fear and pain suffered by Loyalists who were tarred and feathered, imprisoned without trial, subjected to harsh treatment in rebel prisons like Kingston, West Point, and the Simsbury mines. There are fascinating accounts of bizarre episodes, guerilla attacks by both rebel and loyalist banditti, and experiences of exiled Loyalists after the war. The most disappointing selections are those about southern Loyalists. Too many of them have been taken from secondary sources or sources of questionable reliability. Even Ms. Crary's narrative introductions to these selections lack their usual perception and accuracy.

By a careful selection from a variety of primary sources the editor has captured something of the emotional climate of rebellion, and her work is a valuable contribution to a deeper

understanding of the painful experiences of those who opposed the Revolution.

Agnes Scott College GERALDINE M. MERONEY

The Genet Mission. By Harry Ammon. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1973. x, 194 pp. Preface, notes, bibliographical note, index. $6.95.)

Historians are drawn to writing by two motives– one because they have an overwhelming interest in the subject; the other because an editor of a series has asked for a contribution. Harry Ammon's *James Monroe, The Quest for National Identity*, is in the first class; this volume is in the second. *The Genet Mission* is an offshoot of the larger work on Monroe and earlier articles on the Genet mission. Chapter ten, as the author admits in a footnote, is drawn "primarily" from his own article, "The Genet Mission and the Development of American Political Parties," and the emphasis in that chapter is on parties rather than on Genet. This slim volume is a good summary of its kind, for in a brief compass the story of the mission is told clearly and with emphasis upon the major diplomatic developments, but it does not break new ground and adds almost nothing for the professional historian. Indeed the student who had dipped into the works of Malone, Freeman, Brant, Syrett's edition of *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, as well as Alexander DeConde's *Entangling Alliance; Politics & Diplomacy under George Washington* with reference to Genet's mission may not need this volume at all.

A series dealing with special subjects should be exhaustive of those subjects. For the reviewer who specializes in the writing of South Carolina history, and for this magazine which is devoted to the history of Florida, there is an eagerness to know a great deal more about the South Carolina-Georgia expedition against Florida that Genet set in motion, Consul Mangourit in Charleston furthered, and that apparently only hung together for any length of time because of Elijah Clarke's commitment to the venture. This sub-plot is admittedly peripheral to the central story, yet even Genet's progress from Charleston to

Philadelphia along the great wagon road of the backcountry is scarcely mentioned. Any attempt to tie Genet's visit to developing party politics should certainly analyze that journey.

It is odd that the author fails to list his own article, "Agricola versus Aristides: James Monroe, John Marshall and the Genet Affair in Virginia," in the Bibliographical Note, for in that article published in 1966, Professor Ammon does analyze at some length the reverberations of the Genet mission in one state.

This book is then standard fare with the principals performing their well-known roles– Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Clinton. The most valuable part is the discussion of the rights of France under the Treaty of 1778 concerning the outfitting of French privateers in American ports, etc. Genet, whose rhetoric and naive hopes reflected so perfectly the Girondins who sent him on the mission, could not understand the role of the executive in the new United States. Washington, who was almost as sensitive to criticism as Richard Nixon, could not be bypassed. Genet therefore constantly played into the hands of his enemies (the Hamiltonians) and left his friends with little upon which to build.

University of South Carolina GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

The Papers of John C. Calhoun: Volume VII, 1822-1823. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973. liv, 609 pp. Frontispiece, preface, introduction, symbols, bibliography, index. $25.00.)

The politics of the presidential campaign of 1824 took over as the center of Calhoun's interest in the year April 1, 1822, to March 31, 1823. The unwillingness of Congress (under the influence of William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury, and Henry Clay, another of Calhoun's rivals for the presidency) to appropriate adequate funds for the multiple activities of the war department made it impossible for its secretary to carry forward any of the constructive programs for national improvement that he had earlier planned with the consent and encouragement of President James Monroe. The country too was

at a standstill, still suffering from the effects of the Panic of 1819, and Calhoun, angry and frustrated, wrote a supporter, "The struggle is between cunning and wisdom and political virtue and vice."

He was still a nationalist, fervently opposed to the radical states' rights, anti-governmental stand of Crawford and his old republican supporters, but his fears concerning slavery, aroused by the Missouri controversy, were forcing him increasingly into a sectional position. On January 20, 1823, for example, he wrote, "It will be manifest in six months that I am the only man from the slaveholding states that can be elected," and his principal regret at the nomination of Andrew Jackson was that it meant that there would be "five persons from the slaveholding states," and but one from the non-slaveholding states, "before the people for the highest office in their gift."

His earlier effort to commit the national government to the view that no Negro could ever be a citizen by claiming that those who had served in the army during the War of 1812 had been fraudulently enlisted, and so were not entitled to the land bounty voted to veterans by the Congress, was partially frustrated by a ruling of Attorney-General William Wirt in late March. Wirt stated that he "had no hesitation in expressing the opinion that it was not the intention of Congress to incorporate Negroes and People of colour with the Army any more than with the militia of the U.S.," but, unfortunately, the acts themselves spoke only of enlisting "able bodied, effective men" to complete "the existing military establishment," and so the Negroes "ought to receive the promised land bounty." Wirt expressed no opinion on the more important question, but did say that he "would not recommend a repetition of such contracts on any future occasion, or laws worded like those under consideration– by which I mean, not merely the three laws which I have cited, but the whole military ssytem of the United States, militia included."

This foreshadowing of the later actions of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the national government hostile to the civil rights of Negroes is not mentioned by the editor in his introduction. The emphasis there is still on Calhoun the nationalist, but this minor, unmentioned theme, most

probably, had greater significance on his subsequent career and on the history of the nation than any other.

In this volume, as in the earlier ones, the editor has continued the practice of listing or paraphrasing routine or previously published letters (a necessity forced upon him by the sheer volume of official correspondence), and most of those concerned with the administrative problems of the Territory of Florida fall into this category. Students of Florida history, as a consequence, will find little in this volume they do not already know. But, like the rest of us, they will profit from much new information about Calhoun's first campaign for the presidency.

University of Oregon THOMAS P. GOVAN

Mr. Polk's War: American Opposition and Dissent, 1846-1848. By. John H. Schroeder. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973. xvi, 184 pp. Introduction, notes, essay on sources, index. $12.50.)

All sections of the nation except the Northeast enthusiastically supported the War with Mexico, which after two years of an unbroken series of victories ended with the cession of California and New Mexico to the United States. In the interim, as this objective study emphasizes, "the antiwar movement had little effect upon the war's duration, outcome, or final terms." Though verbal protests from the President's congressional critics mounted from the first, they gave him "almost everything he requested."

When news arrived in May 1846 of the ambush of General Taylor's troops on the Rio Grande, Polk's request for recognition of a state of war, on the grounds that the Mexicans "had shed American blood on American soil," and for reinforcements to Taylor quickly passed the House by a vote of 174 to fourteen and the Senate by forty to two. The Whigs and Democratic Senator Calhoun immediately accused him of provoking hostilities as a pretext for a needless war, and insisted that the Neuces, not the Rio Grande, was the legitimate boundary. The radical Whig minority charged that he plotted the conquest of new territory for slavery.

Three new developments broadened the debate. During the summer the American army occupied New Mexico and California, and shortly Polk ordered General Winfield Scott to open a second front in central Mexico. To an appropriation bill granting the President $2,000,000 for a "settlement" of the border issue, Wilmot added a proviso prohibiting slavery in any territory acquired. It passed the House but was rejected in the Senate.

The continued success of the administration's policies, Schroeder concludes, resulted from the division of its critics into three distinct factions. Radical antislavery Whigs demanded immediate withdrawal of American forces and voted against all war measures. The other two factions, the conservative Whig majority and Calhoun's followers, were concerned primarily with victory in the next presidential election. Though they opposed escalation and differed on the territorial question, they voted for most of the administration's supply, troop, and loan measures. Calhoun's group, consisting of Southerners from both parties who considered the entire Mexican terrain unsuited to slavery, advocated a defensive strategy by holding a line along the Rio Grande, but they would permit a limited territorial indemnity. The conservative Whigs, in order to avoid a fatal split in their party over slavery, rejected any territorial acquisition. Temporarily uniting, these three factions delayed passage of the Ten Regiments and the Three Million bills, but the only administration measure permanently defeated was that for the creation of a lieutenant-generalship. By accepting Trist's treaty, the President himself checked a strong movement at the war's end for the annexation of all of Mexico.

Tulane University GERALD M. CAPERS

The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854-1861. By Robert E. May. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. x, 286 pp. Acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

In the decade prior to the Civil War, tremendous enthusiasm existed on the non-partisan level for expansion into the

Caribbean area, especially Cuba and Mexico. Both sections agreed on common goals: national security, commercial advantages, and a civilizing influence over the inferior races of the equatorial zones. The North felt, however, that the suppression of the African slave trade could be furthered, while the South wanted more slave territory to help balance the power of the free states, as well as eliminate the possibility of runaway slaves finding a refuge, especially in Mexico. These are the major conclusions reached by Professor May in his interesting and valuable book covering the period from the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill to the firing on Fort Sumter.

One major contribution is the discussion of numerous filibustering expeditions, especially those of John Quitman and William Walker. Although the role of the latter may be overemphasized, the Quitman story is more convincing as far as southern ideals were concerned. Quitman opposed the Compromise of 1850, and his "reputation as an extreme defender of southern rights was unchallenged." This method of acquisition, however, upset the North, the administrative policies of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, and some southern expansionists.

The treatment of George Beckley, "a disreputable . . . physician and editor," and his Knights of the Golden Circle, in their attempt to develop a great slave empire in the tropics, adds new research materials and significant conclusions. Both Beckley and William Walker appear as egomaniacs and not champions of southern ideals. The efforts of Senator John J. Crittenden toward peace are also thoroughly discussed, although Senator Zachariah Chandler's "blood-letting" letter, not mentioned in the book, certainly counter-balanced the former's peace proposals.

Although the author accomplishes his objectives, he is somewhat pro-South in his coverage, especially concerning the North, Stephen Douglas, and the Republican Party. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill provided the impetus for the formation of the Republican Party, and from May 30, 1854, the North became more a united section and more determined to stop the spread of slavery in the territories. Thus, the North voted against any new tropical acquisitions, but they never advocated in any party platform the abolition of the "peculiar institution" where

it existed. Although the papers of Stephen A. Douglas were utilized, the "champion" of the Democratic Party was virtually ignored as to his feelings and desires. Also, the author did not deal with the question of what effect the abolitionists had on the southern dream for Caribbean expansion.

Several subjects definitely need further explanation. Emphasis is placed on the importance of passage of the Cuban Bill, but no reference is made to the sixteen senators who did not vote. Since the vote was thirty to eighteen, the significance is obvious. On p. 147, the author states that the "number of American filibuster raids into Mexico in the 1850's is staggering," although he does not speculate as to the actual number of these expeditions, and only previously known operations are discussed. There is also little reference to the threat of yellow fever as detrimental to tropical expansion.

A few minor errors were observed. Since the publisher required that all sources be cited at the end of the paragraph, some references seem unrelated. On p. 179 the obvious source of a letter from Stephen A. Douglas to Alexander Hamilton Stephens is not accurate, although perhaps the correct entry appears elsewhere in the footnote. This reviewer believes that there were fifteen southern states instead of fourteen.

This book is a scholarly product of research, and is a must for all serious students of the antebellum South and its dream of a Caribbean empire. Although the book reiterates previous conclusions as to inefficiency and irresponsibility of the administrations of Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, it is a revisionist work in showing the strong desire on the part of the South to expand in the Caribbean both by filibustering and purchase

University of West Florida ROBERT C. HARRIS

John McIntosh Kell of the Raider Alabama. By Norman C. Delaney. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1973. viii, 270 pp. Preface, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $8.50.)

Amid the welter of Confederate War books which have poured from the presses since 1865, and especially during the

past twenty years, it is remarkable that no biography has appeared of John McIntosh Kell, executive officer of the C.S.S. *Sumter* and *Alabama* – *until* now. But the delay has proved eminently profitable: Norman C. Delaney, under the aegis of Robert H. Woody, has done the job with keen judgment, leavened with amiable expression, Beginning as a dissertation at Duke University, *John McIntosh Kell of the Raider Alabama* has emerged as a solid study, essential for any future analysis of Confederate maritime history.

Although Delaney's monograph covers Kell's careers in the United States and Confederate States Navy, as well as a postwar Georgia farmer and state adjutant general, the most magnetic chapter deals with the fight between *Alabama* and the U.S.S. *Kearsage* on June 19, 1864 (which was first published with colorful illustrations in *American Heritage,* April 1972). "I have written of the *Alabama-Kearsage* battle off Cherbourg in detail," Delaney states, "in an effort to present an objective account of the fight as seen by both sides." And he is correct. No other historian has so adequately depicted this debatable event.

Perceptive readers will note that Delaney has disdained the use of virtually all books published about *Sumter* and *Alabama* or their Captain Raphael Semmes since, say, 1900, choosing instead to rely on original sources or more nearly contemporary narratives. Among these latter are Fullam's, Sinclair's, Latham's, and, of course, Semmes's. Each of these four men served aboard the *Alabama,* and their eyewitness accounts have long been acceptable. But Delaney failed to use the original logbook kept by another of *Alabama*'s lieutenants, John Low, an experienced Englishman who sailed with the ship from her launching, June 28, 1862, until June 21, 1863, and whose "superb seamanship," Semmes acknowledged, saved *Alabama* from sinking in a typhoon on October 16, 1862. Low's daily log, published in early 1972, would have afforded several personal sidelights on Kell and generally added some spice to the routines aboard ship.

The University of Alabama Press will most certainly win wider distinction for having published this outstanding manuscript, which won the coveted Mrs. Simon Baruch University Award (1970), made annually by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. But it is unfortunate that the book itself is marred

by numerous inattentive lapses in editing and by several incomplete and confounding entries in the bibliography. And neither New Englander Delaney nor a southern press can hope to win friends among Confederate buffs for their ill-chosen title designation of *Alabama* as a "Raider."

Be that as it may, Delaney's well-written, painstaking study is a valuable contribution to American historical literature. It is a comprehensive book and, tritely but truly, one which should find space in every Confederate collection.

University of Alabama W. STANLEY HOOLE

Joseph E. Brown and the Politics of Reconstruction. By Derrell C. Roberts. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1973. 159 pp. Appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Derrell Roberts has produced a brief, but useful and thoroughly researched biography of Joseph E. Brown, wartime Georgia governor and architect of a New South in Reconstruction times. Political activities are linked very closely to economic motivations in the life style of Joseph Brown.

The most persistent theme in this (Roberts's) characterization is Brown's demonstration of opportunism in switching from secessionist Democrat in antebellum and Civil War years, to Radical Republican in the early stages of Reconstruction, to Liberal Republican in the later phases of Reconstruction, and finally to his return to the Democratic Party with the triumph of the Redeemers in 1877. This remarkable faculty for association with the power structure in Georgia contributed to Brown's personal fortune in agricultural lands, real estate, railroad stocks, mines, convict labor, and other business interests.

This biography also admits to certain statesmanlike qualities in this man who pioneered in the "New South" idea. Brown, in company with Robert Toombs and Henry W. Grady, was convinced that the old cotton plantation could not be revived profitably. He was among the first to recognize that blacks must be accepted as free, if not equal agents in the labor market; that farmers should diversify their crops and make farming into

a profitable business; that the rich natural resources of the South should be exploited; and that Southerners engaged in manufacturing, mining, banking, and trade should be respected. Brown recognized that agriculture, as a social system, had lost the war. The South would eventually triumph, he concluded, by adopting the industrial order of the victor.

In order to become a successful southern entrepreneur, Brown compromised his political affiliation and associated with Radical Republicans. He was among the first to welcome General John Pope, commander of the Third Military District, to Atlanta in 1867, and he subsequently enjoyed freedom to achieve his economic goals. Brown was acclaimed by the northern press as "a good Union Man."

Roberts applauds Brown's journey to Florida in 1876 to advocate the cause of Tilden in the disputed election as evidence that Brown, after completing the political cycle, had regained his faith in the party of Jefferson and local government. It is, however, the opinion of this reviewer that the author may be too critical of numerous political reverses by Brown. Is it not evident that the Democrats, soon to be known as "Bourbons," had actually moved in the direction of the New South idea and were thereby following the lead of Joseph Brown? Brown had risked popularity and political future in 1867 for what was then a very unpopular cause. By 1876, Brown had risen from poverty in the hills of Georgia to the top of the economic ladder. By the latter date, the South had joined the nation as a whole in admiration for the new industrial elite. When the Democrats returned to power in the South, they had accepted many of Brown's goals.

More scholarship is needed for explanation of interrelated economic and political forces at work in Reconstruction times. Some in-depth study of Brown's early life prior to the secession controversy might help us to understand why a fundamentalist in religion would venture so far beyond his contemporaries in economics and politics. But, no one with a serious interest in the origins of the New South should neglect this biography.

University of Florida MERLIN G. COX

August Reckoning: Jack Turner and Racism in Post-Civil War Alabama. By William Warren Rogers and Robert David Ward. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973. xii, 195 pp. Acknowledgments, preface, map, notes, list of sources, index. $7.50.)

In the eyes of white Alabamians, "Jack Turner's transgressions were difficult to overlook. . . . The arrogant black had trod dangerous ground before, but this constant and unrelenting work in organizing the Negroes and persuading them to stand up for their rights had ceased to be a mere nuisance . . . Something . . . ought to be done" (pp. 70, 79). What was done constitutes the heart of this monograph. By focusing on the experiences and tragic end of a brave black man in a rural Alabama county who attempted to stand up for his own rights and those of his race, the book illuminates post-Civil War politics and race relations in the South.

As they admit in the preface, the authors have not written a conventional biography because the usual documentary material was unavailable. Instead they have pieced together from a wide variety of sources the story of this highly intelligent and physically imposing ex-slave. Granted his freedom at about age twenty-five, Turner stayed in Choctaw County as a tenant farmer, and by the end of Reconstruction blacks and whites alike recognized him as a political leader of considerable oratorical ability and charisma. He was bitterly attacked by white newspapers and harassed by law enforcement agencies for petty "crimes" which stemmed from some drinking and outbursts of temper. Actually he was a good provider for his wife and three children and ultimately owned some eighty acres of land.

With the defection of whites from the Republican party, Turner and other blacks attempted to continue some organized opposition to the Democrats. For their pains they became targets of increasing harassment and accusations. In the "redemption" election of 1874 the blacks were accused of attempting an armed "invasion" of the county seat although in reality they had been served warrants to appear in court. Receiving some assistance from Greenbackers and Independents, the blacks succeeded in carrying Choctaw County for the Greenback gubernatorial candidate in August 1882. The fear of this fusion-

ist group carrying the congressional district in the November elections so alarmed Democrats that they resorted to drastic action. Discovered in the middle of a country road was a bundle of papers, which the authors are convinced were forged, implicating Jack Turner and other blacks in a conspiracy to murder all whites in the county. Six were arrested, and at a mass "meeting" in the courthouse square which was reminiscent of a French revolutionary tribunal, Turner was judged "too dangerous to be let live a day longer" and was hanged on the spot. Although indicted, the others never came to trial following long delays and continuances.

The latter half of the book deals with the impact of this shocking display of hatred, fear, and bitterness toward one black citizen who had attempted to resist the powerful forces of racism. Cited and quoted are a variety of newspaper comments; most of the Alabama editors defended the Choctaw County whites, but those in the North castigated the county and the region for perpetrating such a flagrant political and racial crime.

The narrative is based on exhaustive evidence which generally speaks for itself. From time to time the authors include interpretations of the motives, reactions, and significance of the events. Some of these were more convincing to this reviewer than the doubts and uncertainties implied in the concluding paragraph.

University of Houston ALLEN J. GOING

Immigrants, Baptists, and. the Protestant Mind in America. By Lawrence B. Davis. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973. 230 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. $8.95.)

The underlying objective of this book is to examine the shifting ideas and attitudes of Northern Baptists and other Protestant groups to foreign immigration during the period 1880 to 1925. Students of immigrant history have long awaited such an investigation, and this brief volume will not disappoint them. Professor Davis's findings represent a significant and welcome

contribution to our understanding of how a native culture meets the challenge of that which is alien to it.

Using Baptist thought as a bellwether for the wider "Protestant Mind" the author claims that church leaders initially regarded immigrants as an important part "of Gods providential plan for building the most Christian nation on earth." Nativist fears, therefore, were largely held in check and religious spokesmen urged that evangelizing efforts would solve all problems. In the 1890s, however, as immigration increased in volume and changed in character (to include more of the seemingly undesirable southern and eastern Europeans), Baptists began to question whether this new tide of humanity might not actually be harmful to their plans for a Christian civilization. Accordingly, many churchmen favored efforts to restrict immigration based upon discriminatory standards of race and religion. As more immigrant converts entered the Baptist fold, Davis maintains, they tempered this nativist disposition. With each ethnic contingent within the church defending itself and arguing for consideration on the basis of equality, Baptist opinion again changed; by 1917 the cycle was complete. Building upon their experience with various foreign groups and borrowing from their own long tradition of religious freedom, Baptists were "able to resist the anti-foreign sentiment that swept the country and even to oppose the National Origins Act on the grounds that it discriminated according to race."

Professor Davis has handled this complex question with considerable insight and impartiality. What emerges is a solid chronicle which is written in a clear and readable manner. One criticism does seem in order. Considering the attention devoted to Italian immigrants in the volume, it is regrettable that Rudolph J. Vecoli's perceptive assessment of Italian religious adjustments was overlooked. Vecoli, for example, contends that probably the majority of Italian immigrants left the Catholic church entirely after coming to America, and that significant numbers of those who did not abandon organized religion retained but a nominal connection to the church. Professor Davis, however, asserts that the major reason explaining why Protestant groups failed to attract greater numbers of foreigners was the strength and vitality of the Roman Catholic faith they espoused.

Clearly, this question requires more study. Despite this limitation, the book adds much that is new and valuable and, as such, is to be recommended as an important addition to the scholarly literature on immigrant and religious history.

University of Florida GEORGE E. POZZETTA

Stormy Petrel: N. G. Gonzales and His State. By Lewis Pinckney Jones. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973. x, 340 pp. Preface, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. $9.95.)

In 1890 blustering Ben Tillman, "agricultural moses" to the one-gallus rustics of South Carolina society, was elected governor of that state, overturning the Redeemer oligarchy which had dominated politics since Reconstruction. Stung by defeat, leaders of the Bourbon element combined to establish an anti-Tillman newspaper, *The State,* under the editorship of Narciso G. Gonzales. Gonzales proved himself to be a worthy opponent of Tillman, combining deft, polished criticism with journalistic bombast in a constant battle against Tillmanism. Despite the contrast in style and disparity in politics, Gonzales and Tillman shared many of the same values and goals common to South Carolinians, for Gonzales was as truly a native son of the Palmetto State as Tillman. His name-received from his Cuban father Ambrosio Gonzales– was a misleading foreign stamp, for his mother and the relatives who shaped his character were Elliotts of the seacoast plantation aristocracy. Raised in genteel poverty after the Civil War, Gonzales made a career as newspaper spokesman for decency and progress. He became a "loyal but critical" defender of Bourbon leadership.

Lewis P. Jones's evaluation of Gonzales and his times agrees with that of Tillman's biographer Francis B. Simkins, and complements it by focusing attention on Tillman's opponents. Although manuscript sources for N. G. Gonzales are not extensive, Jones has gleaned information from several collections and supplemented it with interviews from relatives and associates (many now dead) to create a satisfying portrait of the man who was perhaps South Carolina's greatest journalist.

Jones is also concerned with the history of Gonzales's newspaper *The State,* but the focus remains on the editor rather than the newspaper. For this reason little attention is given to business aspects of *The State,* while editorial policies, news reporting, and newspaper politics are highlighted. In Gonzales's day newspapers in the South had not grown out of the stage of personal journalism, and the life of an editor was often stormy, particularly if he were as volatile and self-righteous as Gonzales. Frequently an editor was called on to defend with his fists what he had writen with his pen, and sometimes an editor paid for his editorial transgressions with his life. Thus there was shock, but not surprise, when in 1903 N. G. Gonzales was shot down and killed on a Columbia streetcorner by Lieutenant Governor Jim Tillman, nephew of the man Gonzales had dedicated his life to opposing.

Flagler College THOMAS GRAHAM

The Republican Party and Black America: From McKinley to Hoover: 1896-1933. By Richard B. Sherman. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973. viii, 274 pp. Preface, notes, appendixes, bibliographical note, index. $9.50.)

"The Republican Party is the deck, all else is the sea," Frederick Douglass reminded Negro Americans as early as 1872. Blacks remembered and for the most part obeyed this admonition during the next sixty years– until the party realignment of the New Deal years brought them almost en masse into the Democratic party. The party of Lincoln and of emancipation established itself as the nation's majority political party in the mid-1890s, and it is at this point that Richard B. Sherman begins his account of the GOP's response to the condition of its black constituency. The period Sherman treats coincided with the worsening plight of American Negroes, most of whom were still living in the South. Although the Republican party dominated the national political scene, it was both irresolute and ambivalent in facing the "Negro question." It was confronted, on the one hand, with disfranchisement, mob violence, and the rising structure of Jim Crowism in the southern states and,

on the other, with apathy and even hostility toward blacks in the rest of the country. In addition, Republican leaders from McKinley to Hoover supported schemes designed to develop southern Republicanism on the basis of a lily-white party. Ironically, as Sherman remarks, by 1932 "the Republicans had not only failed in the South; they had also gone a long way toward driving Negroes from their party" (p. 257).

Much of the story related here is familiar, having previously been told in articles and books by such scholars as Willard B. Gatewood, Nancy J. Weiss, and Charles F. Kellogg. The virtue of Sherman's book is that it provides in one place an authoritative reconstruction of Republican strategy and policy in dealing with black America during the GOP's ascendancy between the 1890s and the 1930s. The author has made good use of manuscript sources, including presidential collections and the Booker T. Washington Papers, and he has assimilated most of the relevant work in print by other writers. Since his focus is on national party leaders and presidential administrations, he does not go very deeply into the shifting Republican politics of the various southern states, an area that deserves more study. Joseph F. Steelman's work on North Carolina, for example, which Sherman seems not to have used, suggests the need for further investigation of Republicanism at the state level in this era. Sherman's concentration on national policy does enable him to devote a chapter to the Dyer antilynching bill of the 1920s.

The Republican Party and Black America is a scholarly and well written monograph. It presents a clear and thoughtful review of national Republican policy toward Negroes during the first third of the twentieth century. Students of modern American political history and race relations should find the study interesting and useful.

Vanderbilt University DEWEY W. GRANTHAM

Hillbilly Women. By Kathy Kahn. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1973. viii, 230 pp. Introduction, illustrations, appendix. $7.95.)

This book is a collection of oral history interviews with nineteen women in Southern Appalachia. They are members

of the working class; they include wives and widows of coal miners, seamstresses in hosiery mills, and a mountain-born receptionist in Atlanta. Collectively, the women discuss the harshness of their lives. Ruby Green is a cotton mill worker in Hendersonville, North Carolina, who has contracted "brown lung," a disease caused by the breathing of lint from the looms. Della Mae Smith of Rodelle, West Virginia, the wife of a coal miner who lost his legs from a slate fall in the mines, supported a strike against the East Gulf Mining Company in 1970. Another hard-pressed mountain woman, Granny Hager of Hazard, Kentucky, helped organize the miners in her area for years. The only approach to her home is by crossing a railroad track. Currently, the mining companies are placing their empty coal trains in front of her home, forcing her to crawl between the cars to go to and from her front door. The other interviews reflect many hardships placed upon these working class women.

Ms. Kahn wrote *Hillbilly Women* to illustrate the plight of many in Southern Appalachia. The technique of the oral history interview gives the reader an effective first-hand account of the hardships endured by the women who lived them. Ms. Kahn chose only women to be interviewed because, as she says in her introduction, "Hillbilly women are real feminists, ... But they are also humanists. They are fighting for the liberation of all people."

This reviewer believes that Ms. Kahn has succeeded very well in her purpose of revealing the evils of the American economic system in Southern Appalachia. While she purposely has not covered all available printed sources, she has used the oral history technique effectively. She has interviewed representative types of working class women in the region. Her material is organized in an acceptable manner.

This book is valuable as a social commentary on the lower classes of Southern Appalachain society. The author tells the incredible story of the hardships faced by women struggling for survival against the rich industrialists who have treated Southern Appalachia as a "colonial possession" for far too many years. Ms. Kahn has done a magnificent job in making the plight of these proud but destitute people known to the world.

Western Carolina University RICHARD IOBST

Bicentennial USA: Pathways to Celebration. By Robert G. Hartje. (Nashville: American Association for State and Loyal History, 1973. ix, 334 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, illustrations, bibliographical essay. $7.95; $5.00 paper.)

Based on the premise that experience is the best teacher, Robert Hartje has researched countless patriotic celebrations held in the United States and Canada in recent times to produce this volume for the American Association for State and Local History. AASLH's leadership, along with others, has been concerned about the direction, or *indirection*, the planning for this nation's Bicentennial in 1976 has taken. So, to help prevent our 200th birthday from degenerating into "a mindless doodle-dandy celebration characterized by blatant commercialism and tawdry programs" the AASLH commissioned this book "for planners at the state and local levels, and principally for historical society personnel and local historians."

Mr. Hartje's initial method is to critique several significant celebrations, including the Canadian and Civil War Centennials, the New Jersey Tercentenary, the Illinois Sesquicentennial, and the Centennials held by Virginia, Minnesota, Oregon, North Carolina, British Columbia, and Manitoba.

Except for brief remarks, this case-study format virtually excludes current Bicentennial programs of the various states, some of which have virtue. Thus, Mr. Hartje breezes through Florida's program in fifteen lines and avoids the fact that of the four cities given major Bicentennial sanction (and hopes) by the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission and President Nixon in 1970– Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., and Miami– the Florida city is the only one to muster a major effort. Indeed, as a Bicentennial project, Interama is spending $175,000,000 developing its 1,700-acre site into an International Trade Center, Theme Park, and north campus for Florida International University. That is hardly insignificant.

Commendably, the author includes in his closing chapters hundreds of suggestions for effective local and state Bicentennial celebrations. Yet, in his discussions he offers few solutions for program financing that could be helpful to Bicentennial planners. Again, he might have cited Florida's financing of her

state-wide $2,500,000 Bicentennial program through funds derived from operating her racetracks an extra day each year, a method already adopted by at least one other state.

Mr. Hartje is properly concerned with the spiritual meaning of the Bicentennial– obviously worrying all the time about the dirty purveyors of commercialism who will surely corrupt everything. But he could have been less redundant on this account and devoted more space to proven ways to pay the bills.

Still, *Bicentennial USA* should be studied by every person participating in Bicentennial planning regardless of the level. As he sets out to do, the author politely shoots down the trite and bizarre which usually run rampart as citizen groups meet to plan festive programs. The book eloquently sets standards of good taste and propriety without being snobbish. Everything considered-even Mr. Hartje's poems and the lack of an index-it is still the best general planning piece this reviewer has encountered on the Bicentennial to date.

Pensacola, Florida PAT DODSON

BOOK NOTES

Among the recently issued volumes in the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series, published for the Florida Bicentennial Commission by the University of Florida Press, is *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History*, by Sidney Lanier. A travel guide commissioned by the Great Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company, the book appeared in 1875. Although hurriedly written, the book is accurate in its descriptions. Sidney Lanier, the South's famed poet, relied on personal observation derived from a two-month visit to Florida for his data and descriptions. Professor Jerrell H. Shofner of Florida Technological University has written an introduction to the volume and has compiled an index. He presents biographical data on Lanier and an evaluation of the book. The volume sells for $8.50.

Jefferson B. Browne, a native son of Key West, in 1912 published a history of his community from its first settlement during the late Second Spanish period through the early years of the twentieth century. Browne was not a trained historian, but he had lived in Key West most of his life, and he knew its people and had witnessed many of the events that he described in his book. *Key West: The Old and the New* is a valuable community history. The introduction to this Florida Bicentennial facsimile was written by Professor E. Ashby Hammond. of the University of Florida, who has provided an evaluation of the book and extensive biographical information on Jefferson Browne and his forebearers that is nowhere else available. This University of Florida Press publication sells for $8.50.

The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi was written by a young British army lieutenant during the 1760s and was published in 1770. When the British took over Florida in 1763, they needed precise maps and charts, particularly of West Florida and the Mississippi area. They also needed data on the area to maintain its security from powerful Indian forces. Lieutenant Philip Pittman was a member of the Fifteenth Regiment of Foot, which was ordered to move up the Mississippi to the Illinois country, to pacify the Indians and to bring peace to the area. His report to General Thomas Gage comprised the manuscript for *The Present State.* Professor Robert R. Rea of Auburn University has written a lengthy introduction. It includes biographical data on Pittman, a description of his activities in Pensacola, Mobile, and New Orleans, and his involvement in the up-river expedition. Published by the University of Florida Press for the Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series, this volume sells for $10.00.

An Odyssey in Education is a privately-printed book by Thomas D. Bailey, former superintendent of public instruction in Florida (1949-1965). Mr. Bailey recounts his early life and details his career in education which spanned a period of nearly five decades. A South Carolinian by birth, Bailey came to Florida in 1939 to accept a position in the public schools at Ocala. He has remained in Florida ever since, and has played an active

role in education on every level. He was a strong proponent of the Minimum Foundation Law and other legislation affecting public school education.

Pioneering in the Everglades is a short memoir written by Ruth Robbins Beardsley, who came to Florida in the summer of 1916 as a teacher. That winter, for the first time, she visited the Everglades. Later she married James Beardsley, and went to live with him on a farm in Palm Beach County. This monograph is published by the Calusa Valley Historical Society, P.O. Box 1183, Clewiston, Florida 33440. The price is $2.95.

Tarpon Springs Sketchbook is a brief but delightful account of the history of the sponge industry in Florida and of Tarpon Springs, the home of this industry. The sketches and the text are by Michel G. Emmanuel, a native of Tarpon Springs. His father, George Emmanuel, was a sponge broker and civic leader there. The book is available from Book One Ltd., P.O. Box 3239, Tampa 33601; the price is $4.00.

Bluegrass Boy in Florida, by Paul Brookshire, is a compilation of stories based on the author's memory of his early years in Kentucky and his move to Florida. Mr. Brookshire has been editor of the *South Dade News Leader* in Homestead, Florida, since the mid-1960s. His book was published by E. A. Seemann Publishing Company, Inc., Miami, and it sells for $5.95.

Memoir of Do. de Escalente Fontaneda Respecting Florida has been republished by the Historical Association of Southern Florida in its Reprint and Facsimile series. The *Memoir*, written in Spain about the year 1575, was first translated from the Spanish by Buckingham Smith who found it in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. It was edited by David True in the 1920s, and he added a bibliography and detailed footnotes. It was published by the Historical Association of Southern Florida and the University of Miami in 1944. The Association is republishing it in its Bicentennial series. This edition carries a preface by Marjory Stoneman Douglas. It may be ordered from the Association, 3280 South Miami Avenue, Building B, Miami 33129; the price is $3.00 plus postage.

Official Directory of the City of Miami and Nearby Towns, which was published in 1904, is another of the reprints in the Historical Association of Southern Florida's Reprint and Facsimile series. The preface for this volume is by Charlton W. Tebeau. As Tebeau points out, the city reached important mileposts in 1904. It began construction of its first courthouse; Miami High School held its first graduation; the last rail was laid on the Florida East Coast Railroad extension to Homestead; a new electric plant began supplying power to the area; and a telephone company and fire department were organized. The book sells for $4.00, and it is available from the Association's office.

The Okefenokee Swamp: The American Wilderness is in the Time-Life Book series. The text is by Franklin Russell, but the special quality and excellence of the book are the result of the outstanding photographs, many of them in color, by Patricia Caulfield. Ms. Caulfield, who has also done a volume on the Everglades published by the Sierra Club, complements perfectly the mood and spirit of Mr. Russell's narrative with her photographs. The book sells for $7.95. The publisher is Time-Life Books, New York, New York.

Florida During the Territorial Days, by Sidney Walter Martin, has been reprinted by Porcupine Press, Philadelphia. It was published originally by the University of Georgia Press, in 1944. The price of the reprint is $15.00, and it may be ordered from 1317 Filbert Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107.

Landmarks of the American Revolution, by Mark M. Boatner, III, is a guide to sites throughout the United States that have some connection with the Revolutionary period. Several of the locations are in Florida. Listed are Alligator Bridge (on Alligator Creek east of Callahan), the site of a skirmish, June 1778, between Colonel Elijah Clark with 300 mounted Georgia militia and a force of British regulars; Cowford (Jacksonville), site of the Treaty of Cowford, December 1775; Fort St. Marks (San Marcos de Apalachee); Fort Tonyn site (Nassau County); Pensacola; St. Augustine; Sawpit Bluff (the mouth of the Nassau River, Duval County); and Thomas Creek Battle site (Duval

County). The volume was published by Stackpole Books, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and it sells for $10.00.

Signers of the Declaration: Historic Places Commemorating the Signing of the Declaration of Independence is one of the volumes prepared for the Bicentennial by the National Park Service. It outlines the lives of the fifty-six men whose names appear on the Declaration, and describes the historic buildings still remaining in which the signers lived and worked. There are only brief references to Florida. It notes that Thomas Heyward, Jr., of South Carolina, was imprisoned at St. Augustine, and that while there he celebrated Independence Day, July 1781, by setting patriotic verses to the British national anthem. "God Save the King" became "God Save the Thirteen States," a song that has been played and sung repeatedly in this country for nearly 200 years. Arthur Middleton and Edward Rutledge, South Carolina signers, were also imprisoned in St. Augustine. *Signers of the Declaration* is in the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings series; Robert G. Ferris serves as series editor. It is available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., and the price is $5.65.

Naval Documents of the American Revolution, volume six, published by the Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, covers both the American theatre, August l-October 31, 1776, and the European theatre, May 26-October 5, 1776. Of interest to Florida historians is the correspondence relating to preparations by Governor Patrick Tonyn at St. Augustine for the defense of East Florida. The coastal area from the St. Marys River south to St. Augustine seemed particularly vulnerable to a sea attack by the Georgia rebels. Tonyn also feared an offensive "to be carried on by the inland Navigation." A letter from Lord Howe (August 31, 1776) reported that the "Rebels had plundered the Settlements on Amelia Island." In Pensacola there was also apprehension. According to the Journal of the Council of West Florida, September 7, 1776, there were plans to reinforce the forts "Sufficient to Repell any Attack from the Rebels." An American attack could cut off communications and trade with the Indians, separate the province from New Orleans, and prevent the shipment of lumber to the West Indies. William James

Morgan is series editor. Order from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office, Washington; the price is $18.40.

Biographical Sketches of Commissioned officers of the Confederate States Marine Corps, by Ralph W. Donnelly, is the first of a projected series of three monographs covering the history of the Confederate States' Marine Corps. Recruiting for a southern marine corps began March 1861, and the first marines were sent to Pensacola where they were organized into three companies. One of the Florida marines was Captain George Holmes, who had served in Captain R. C. Livingston's Company of Florida Volunteers in the Mexican War. Captain A. C. Van Benthuysen manned a battery in the Navy Yard at Pensacola during the time of the Federal bombardment, November 2-23, 1861. He was again in Florida, at the end of the war, as one of the members of Jefferson Davis's baggage wagon train. Captain Reubin T. Thorn was one of the first marines sent into Pensacola in 1861 to help organize the battalion. Ralph Donnelly's monograph includes biographical data on these three men and pictures and data on fifty-five other Confederate marines. The volume sells for $4.00. It may be ordered from the author, 18 Kennedy Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22305.

Magnolia Journey: A Union Veteran Revisits the Former Confederate States consists of the letters of Russell H. Conwell, who toured the South in 1869 as a correspondent for the Boston *Daily Evening Traveller.* Writing under the pen name of "Russell," he sent back a series of twenty-five dispatches describing the battle sites of the recent war. He described Florida as "the fairest land of all the sunny South." He was particularly entranced with Jacksonville, where he saw "beautiful hedges of hawthorne and cedar. . . . Trailing vines of bright flowers. . . . Gardens of roses representing every hue and shade bordered upon the streets . . . and overall were spread the long evergreen branches of the magnolia, orange, fig, pomegranate, and Pride of India." He also visited St. Augustine and Fernandina. Edited by Joseph C. Carter, the letters have been published by the University of Alabama Press in its Southern Historical Publications series. It sells for $6.75.

Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World is a collection of ten essays edited by David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene. Selected specialists examine the position of freedmen in Colonial Spanish America, Brazil, the West Indies, Cuba, and the North American slave states. It was published by the Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History Series. It sells for $13.50.

The Dead Towns of Georgia, by Charles C. Jones, Jr., is a reprint of a book published originally in Savannah in 1878. It is an account of the "lost" communities of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Georgia, including Fredrica, Old and New Ebenezer, Abercorn, Sunbury, Hardwick, Petersburg, and Jacksonborough. The price is $10.25, and it may be ordered from Cherokee Publishing Company, P.O. Box 1081, Covington, Georgia 30209.

James Dakin was a major American nineteenth-century architect. Although his career began in New York and he did some of his most important work in the North, he was very active in the South, particularly in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Memphis. He arrived in the South in 1835, the South's "golden era," when the Greek Revival was finding its way into the area, particularly into New Orleans. Dakin used this style in the design and construction of some of the great buildings that he planned. *James Dakin, Architect: His Career in New York and the South,* by Arthur Scully, Jr., is a study of the man and his work. It is published by Louisiana State University Press, and it sells for $15.00.

The Black West: A Documentary and Pictorial History, by William Loren Katz, contains narrative and pictures on Florida. This revised and updated paperback was published by Doubleday and Company, and it sells for $5.95.

Spain Under the Bourbons, 1700-1833 is a collection of documents, edited and translated by W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, in the History in Depth series published by the University of South Carolina Press. There are a few references to Florida. The book sells for $9.95.

The Out Island of Abaco, the second largest of the Bahamas, lies 180 miles due east of Palm Beach. After the American Revolution, Loyalists, most of them emigrating from St. Augustine, settled there. Before then the island served as a pirate base. Contacts between Florida and Abaco continued on into the nineteenth century. Slavers operated from this base, and many of the Out Islanders were wreckers. Again, during the Civil War the area became important to the South because of the Union blockade. After the war, many of the island's inhabitants emigrated to the United States, particularly to Florida, settling in the Keys south of Miami. During the rum-running days of the 1920s, the island was again involved with events in Florida. *The Innocent Island: Abaco in the Bahamas,* by Zóe C. Durrell, is a history of the island, and describes its bird life, plants, and seashells. It is published by Durrell Publications and distributed by Stephen Greene Press, P.O. Box 1000, Brattleboro, Vermont 05301; it sells for $5.00 in paperback.

Shem, Ham, and Japheth are the papers of W. O. Tuggle, a native Georgian who gained national prominence as an agent for the Creek and Yuchi Indian tribes. The papers consist of a diary, a number of sketches and observations, and a journal that he kept while travelling through the Indian Territory in Oklahoma and in Washington, DC. The collection of Indian myths which he recorded directly from tales told him by the Indian chiefs are of special importance to anthropologists, folklorists, and historians. Published by University of Georgia Press, the book sells for $12.50.

HISTORY NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its seventy-third annual meeting in Gainesville, May 9-10, 1975. The Board of Directors will convene its semi-annual meeting the evening of May 8. The Alachua County Historical Society, Alachua County Historical Commission, Historic Gainesville, Inc., Alachua County Bicentennial Commission, and other historical and preservation groups will be hosts. The history faculties at the University of Florida and Santa Fe Community College are also assisting. Dr. Merlin Cox, president of the Alachua County Historical Society, is chairman of local arrangements. Dr. George E. Buker, department of history, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, and Dr. J. Leitch Wright, department of history, Florida State University, Tallahassee, are program chairmen, and they invite anyone interested in reading a paper to correspond with them.

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History

Dr. Robert L. Gold, associate professor of history, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, is the 1973-1974 recipient of the Thompson Prize for his article, "That Infamous Floridian, Jesse Fish," which appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, July 1973. The presentation was made at the Florida Historical Society's annual meeting, May 4, in Tallahassee. The prize of $100 is given annually for the best article appearing in the *Quarterly*. Professor Gold is a specialist on eighteenth-century Florida. His articles have appeared in scholarly and professional journals, including the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. His book, *Borderland Empires in Transition: The Triple-Nation Transfer of Florida*, was published by Southern Illinois University Press in 1969 (reviewed, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, January 1970, pp. 319-21). The judges were Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville; Dr. Merlin G. Cox, University of Florida, Gainesville; and Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Florida State University, Tallahassee. The award honors the late Professor Arthur W. Thompson, a member of the history faculty,

University of Florida, and it was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville and her family.

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award

Dr. Julia Floyd Smith, professor of history, Georgia Southern College, Statesboro, is the 1973 recipient of the Rembert W. Patrick Award for her book, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860,* published by the University of Florida Press. The award, which carries with it a check for $100, is for the best book on Florida history published in 1973. Dr. Smith received all of her degrees from Florida State University, and she was the first woman to be awarded a Ph.D. in history from that institution. She has published reviews and articles in scholarly journals, including the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The award memorializes Professor Patrick, who served as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The judges were Dr. Martin M. LaGodna, University of South Florida, Tampa; Dr. Joe M. Richardson, Florida State University, Tallahassee; and Dr. George E. Buker, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville.

Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award

Hunted Like a Wolf: The Story of the Second Seminole War, by Milton Meltzer of New York, was selected by the judges to receive the Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book. Award as the best book published in 1973 on a Florida subject for young adult readers. It was published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux of New York. The judges were Mrs. Milton Jones, Clearwater; Dr. Thelma Peters, Miami; and Mr. John W. Griffin, director, Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board, St. Augustine. The award honors Professor Charlton W. Tebeau, former president of the Florida Historical Society, in recognition of his many contributions to Florida history. Professor Tebeau made the presentation of the award, a check for $100.

Wentworth Foundation Grant

The Trustees of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., have authorized a grant of $500 to the Florida Historical Society to be

used for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. This is the second successive year that the Foundation has made a gift of $500. The money will be used for art work and additional illustrative material for the journal. Fillmore Wentworth lived for many years in Clearwater, where he died in 1967. His will provided for the creation of the Foundation to provide funds for the education of worthy young people and to support philanthropic and educational activities.

Dues Structure

The Florida Historical Society's Board of Directors at its meeting in Tallahassee May 9, 1974, unanimously voted to adopt a new dues structure. Beginning July 1, 1974, the price of each annual membership is increased to $10.00, and each annual fellow membership to $20.00. Contributing and/or institutional memberships cost $50.00, $75.00, and $150. Life memberships are increased to $350. A new membership, Memorial, has been established for $350. For this amount, the *Florida Historical Quarterly* will be sent for twenty-five years to any designated school or library. The recipient will be selected by the donor. All members of the Florida Historical Society receive the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and all other services and priviledges provided by the organization.

Florida History Award

The Peace River Valley Historical Society held a dinner meeting in Pioneer Park, Zolfo Springs, in May, and presented its 1973 Florida History Award for Distinguished Service in Florida History to Hampton Dunn of Tampa. Former managing editor of the *Tampa Times*, Mr. Dunn is a civic and church leader. He writes a monthly history article for *Florida Trend*, and is the author of several books, including the recently published *Yesterday's Tampa* and *Yesterday's Tallahassee.*

Activities and Events

This year, 1974, marks the 450th anniversary of the explorations of Giovanni da Verrazzano along the east coast of what is now the United States. In April 1524, Verrazzano, a Florentine

navigator sailing for the French king, Francis I, sailed along the coast from Florida to Newfoundland and left an account of his observations, and later, through the efforts of his brother, Gerolamo, a map. Buckingham Smith of St. Augustine in 1864, and Henry C. Murphy in 1875, published denials that Verrazzano had ever lived and stated that his report to the King was fraudulent. However, credence was restored with the discovery of a copy of the letter, the Cellère Codex, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, and its publication in 1909. Verrazzano, on the 1524 voyage, first sighted land a short distance below Cape Fear. His caravel, the *Dauphine,* sailed south fifty leagues, into the waters off Spanish Florida. *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano, 1524-1528,* by Lawrence Roth, published by Yale University Press, 1970, details the account of the 1524 voyage and Verrazzano's travels along the coastal area north from Florida.

In Memoriam: Stephen Foster had its world premiere at a Sesquicentennial Concert in Tallahassee, April 4, 1974, under the auspices of Springtime Tallahassee. The State Symphony of Florida, conducted by Philip Spurgeon, played this composition for orchestra and chorus by Percy Grainger. The program also included the *Tallahassee Suite,* for violin and piano, by Cyril Scott, *Florida Suite* by Frederick Delius, and *Backward Tracings,* a group of original poems by Gloria Jahoda of Tallahassee set to music by Ralph Stang, who sang his own compositions. Another group of Ms. Jahoda's poems had been set to music by John Boda, and they were sung by Yvonne Cianella.

A historic marker was dedicated May 26, 1974, honoring Dr. James Hall, who settled near present day Jacksonville in 1790. It was placed on the James Hall Memorial Site, on Scott Mill Road in Jacksonville, by the Duval County Medical Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, and Sons of the American Revolution. The occasion also marked the 12lst anniversary of the Duval County Medical Society, the oldest such organization in Florida, and the 100th anniversary of the Florida Medical Association.

The Southern Labor Archives of Georgia State University has published a list of its manuscript holdings. The Archives collects,

preserves, and makes available for research the documentary heritage of organized labor, particularly of the trade union movement in the South. It is endorsed by the Georgia and Florida AFL-CIO. David B. Gracy II is archivist. For information on holdings and the catalog, write the Archives, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia 30383.

The South Atlantic Archives and Records Conference was held in Atlanta, May 2-3, 1974. The Florida Division of Archives, History, and Records Management is a member of the Conference. Ed Tribble of the Division of Archives and History took part in one session dealing with "Finding Aids for Non-Textual Records: Photographs, Audio Recordings, and Motion Pictures."

Bicentennial Activities

The Bicentennial Commission of Florida wants to involve all students of Florida in Bicentennial activities and projects. Schools which have programs underway or want to get something started are encouraged to send progress reports or requests to the Commission's office, 504 East Jefferson Street, Tallahassee 32301 (904: 222-1776). The Bicentennial Commission has prepared a fourteen-minute color film, *A Declaration of Interdependence,* which is available to the public, together with a representative from the Commission.

Some 2,700 college students will work on Bicentennial programs throughout the United States in the next three years. Titled the National Bicentennial Internship Program, it will make use of ideas generated in communities. Program details may be obtained from Ned Moomaw, Southern Regional Education Board, 130 Sixth Street N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30313.

To encourage student interest in the Bicentennial, the National Geographic Society will produce twelve films with public television station WOED of Pittsburgh. They will be filmed on location in the original thirteen states for release in 1975.

Awards for the best plays dealing with the Revolution are being offered by the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington. In addition to a total of $5,000 in prize money, the awards include presentation of prize-winning plays at the Kennedy Center in April 1975, on the 200th anniversary of the Battle of Lexington. Applicants should write Frank Cassidy, executive producer, American College Theatre Festival, Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Washington, D.C. 20566.

Local Societies and Commissions

Alachua County Historical Society: "Architectural Heritage of Alachua County" was the subject for a Society meeting, April 16. Speakers were Susan Tate and Bill Reeves, University of Florida students who conducted an inventory of historic architecture in the county. They showed pictures and slides to illustrate their work. Sigsbee L. Scruggs, a Gainesville attorney, discussed the "Legal Profession in Alachua County Then and Now," at the meeting on May 20. Dr. Merlin Cox, president, who will serve as chairman of local arrangements for the seventy-third annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, May 9-10, 1975, in Gainesville, has appointed a committee representing local and area historical societies and preservation groups who will help plan the conference.

Boynton Beach Historical Society: Facilities in the local library have been provided by the Boynton Beach City Council for use as a museum room. The Society's membership of 230 covers an area which includes Ocean Ridge, Manalapan, and Hypoluxo. It conducts four program meetings a year and a picnic in May. Mrs. Henry K. Harding is president.

Calusa Valley Historical Society: Monthly program meetings are held in Clewiston, LaBelle, and Moore Haven. Plans are underway to place markers at historic sites in the area. The Society is selling copies of *Pioneering in the Everglades,* by Ruth Robbins Beardsley. Its officers are Mrs. Beryl Bowden, president; Glenn Dyess and Joe Thomas, vice-presidents; T. E. Hedges, recording

secretary; Josephine Mener, corresponding secretary; and Walter P. Vaughn, treasurer.

Hillsborough County Historical Commission: A resolution lamenting the death of Captain John D. Ware, a member of the Commission, was adopted at the February 1974 meeting and a copy was sent to Mrs. Ware. Mrs. Bert Dekle has donated a plat book of the city of Tampa, ca. 1922. The Commission is assisting with Tampa's Sesquicentennial celebration, and a bronze marker will be placed adjacent to the Fort Brooke cannon on the riverfront of the University of Tampa campus. A historical map display, arranged by Theodore Lesley, is exhibited in the Historical Room, and an updated edition of the brochure given to visitors is being prepared.

Historical Association of Southern Florida: A Bicentennial Commemorative Marker memorializing the landing of Pedro Menéndez near the mouth of the Miami River in 1567 was dedicated May 9, 1974. The Association, on May 18, held its annual benefit, "Downtown, Old Town, New Town." The Association is publishing a series of Facsimile and Reprint volumes. The first two are *Memoir of Do. d'Escalente Fontaneda Respecting Florida* (1575), with an introduction by Marjory Stoneman Douglas, and *The Official Directory of the City of Miami, 1904,* with an introduction by Charlton W. Tebeau.

Historical Society of Okaloosa and Walton Counties: Mrs. Louise Cox traced the history of the Peter and Sarah Steele family, a pioneer Northwest Florida family, at the meeting, March 24, 1974, at the Laurel Hill School. James Lamar Ward described "Early Freeport Industries" at the April meeting at Freeport High School. Ronald Dean spoke on Indian artifacts at the May 26 meeting in Paxton Town Hall. The major project of the Society is a new museum and a building fund for this purpose was started in 1973. A story hour for young children and country craft classes for high school students are being held at the museum this summer. The Society's recent acquisitions include tools, household utensils, books, pamphlets, historical papers, photographs, and artifacts. Members of Young Historians serve as museum docents.

Jacksonville Historical Society: Dr. Thomas H. Gouchnour spoke on "Diving Into Florida's Pre-History," at the May 8, 1974, meeting in the Friday Musicale Auditorium. Two history leaflets have been compiled by C. H. Harris, curator of the Florida Collection at the Haydon Burns Public Library, Jacksonville. One lists rare books in the library's collection and the other lists historical markers, mainly those placed by the Society. The Society has received as gifts several books and five oil paintings.

Key West Art and Historical Society: The annual Artist Members' Spring Art Festival and Summer Fair opened at East Martello Towers on the evening of May 7, 1974.

Lake Alfred Historical Society: One of the state's youngest historical organizations, it was created by city ordinance, December 10, 1973. Members of the Board are Maude Telford, chairman; Bernice Goodman, Thomas E. Evans, George Gardner, Nena M. Burton, H. Monroe Messer, Ann McNeer, Louise Garrett, and Joseph McD. Mitchell. The Society is gathering data for a history of Lake Alfred. Monthly meetings are held at City Hall.

Orange County Historical Society: The May 1974 issue of the "Orange County Historical Quarterly" contains a sketch and description of plans for the first unit of the historical museum and library. The building site was provided by the city of Orlando and the Loch Haven Park Board. It is adjacent to the John Young Museum and Planetarium.

Palm Beach County Historical Society: The American Revolution Bicentennial and Florida's plans for participating in the celebration were discussed at the meeting, April 9, at Whitehall, the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum in Palm Beach. The Society will participate in the Bicentennial celebration. At its February program meeting, Mrs. Leigh Conover used "From Coconut to City" as the subject for her slide program on the early history of West Palm Beach.

Peace River Valley Historical Society: A memorial to the late Bone Mizell was held at Pioneer Park, Zolfo Springs, on March 10, 1974. William Bevis, former president of the Society and a

member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society, gave the dedicatory address and a monument was unveiled by James Mizell, Jr. Mrs. J. W. Thrailkill read a memorial poem. Hampton Dunn served as master of ceremonies. Mabry Carlton is president of the Society.

Pensacola Historical Society: Mrs. Jean Mayo used as the title of her talk at the March 18 meeting of the Pensacola Historical Society, "Salute the Past, Shape the Future: the History of the Girl Scouts in Pensacola." Captain Grover Walker, curator of the Naval Aviation Museum, described the Museum that he is associated with and showed a movie, "Flight from Yesterday," at the April 15 meeting. Mrs. D. Paul Parks spoke on "Your Most Obediant and Humble Servant, George Johnstone" (Pensacola's first British Governor) at the May 20 program meeting. The 1974 Fiesta of Five Flags was held June 1-9, and "Hail Britannia!" was the theme for the celebration. Officers are Mrs. Wendall G, Switzer, president; Luciam Tryon and Vern Moss, vice-presidents; Frank Nusome and Mrs. E. R. Moffett, secretaries; Mrs. J. Holiday Veal, treasurer; and W. B. Skinner, historian. Board members are A. C. Blount, Henry Gary, Leslie Bogan, and Mrs. S. N. Vickers. *The Golden Dream: Pensacola in the 1870s,* by Mrs. D. Paul Parks and Mrs. S. N. Vickers, is the theme of the recently-issued *Pensacola Historical Quarterly.* Norman Simons and W. B. Skinner assisted with the publication, and David Blue did the art work. Copies are available from the Society, Seville Square, Pensacola, for $1.25.

Pinellas County Historical Commission: Timothy H. Baughman has been selected as director of the Pinellas County Historical Museum. Mr. Baughman had served as director of the Pinellas County Historical Survey.

Safety Harbor Area Historical Society: Dr. Wilburn A. Cockrell, Florida Underwater Archeologist, described the archeological work in progress at Warm Mineral Springs, Sarasota County, under the direction of the Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties, State Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, at the April 3 meeting at Safety Harbor Spa. Don Lambert, speaker at the May 22 meeting, showed slides on archeology.

St. Lucie Historical Society: On March 19, the Society held its regular monthly dinner meeting and heard a program presented by Mrs. W. H. Reed on the early history of her family, the W. R. Jacksons, who were pioneer settlers in the St. Lucie area. At the April 16 meeting, Sam Lawder narrated an account of the Seminole uprising of 1907, based on information compiled by Dr. Harry A. Kersey of Florida Atlantic University. The annual local history essay contest was sponsored in the public and private schools of the county, with students in the ninth grade participating. Mrs. O. C. Peterson was chairman of the essay contest committee; other members were Mrs. Ed Hawkins and Mrs. Clifton Davis.

Southwest Florida Historical Society: "The Story of Names" was the topic for a genealogical talk by Arleta Dunning at the program meeting, April 12, in Fort Myers. Colonel Michael Hansinger of Gainesville described oral history techniques and the Oral History Program at the University of Florida at the meeting, May 10. Members of the Society helped with the Pioneer Club Dinner at Buckingham Community Center, April 17. The Society has added books, prints, photographs, lithographs, and artifacts to its collection. The April 1974 number of the "Caloosa Quarterly," published by the Society, contains information of its acactivities.

Tarpon Springs Area Historical Society: The program for the March meeting was entitled "The Old Times in School at Tarpon Springs." At the May meeting, the program subject was the development of railroads in Pinellas County, and several former railroad employees who were present described their early experiences.

Winter Park Historical Society: Organized May 1, 1974, the Society will hold five meetings a year at the Winter Park Library. Materials are being gathered on old residences and the histories of pioneer families. Pictures and other memorabilia will be collected, and a facility to house the historical collection is being sought. Eighty members joined the Society at its organizational meeting. Officers are Donald Vincent, president; Florence Stone, vice-president; Ernest Zoller, treasurer; Claire Kent, secretary;

and Evelyn Draper, archivist. Eve Bacon is serving as publicity chairman.

Announcements

The Southern Antiques Society, Inc., is soliciting members from the membership of the Florida Historical Society. This organization is dedicated to the dissemination of information about historic restoration and preservation work of southern homes, public buildings, and their furnishings and gardens. It supports all activities aimed at enlightening the general population on the importance of historic preservation. Its quarterly publication, *Southern Antiques and Interiors*, includes some articles on Florida. Annual individual membership is $8.00; couple, $10.00; two-year individual, $12.00; two-year couple, $15.00. A one-year subscription for libraries is $6.00 and a two-year subscription, $10.50. Membership carries a subscription to its Quarterly. The address is Southern Antiques Society, Inc., P.O. Box 26, High Point, North Carolina 27261.

Information and pictures on the 157th New York Regiment and Colonel P. P. Brown are being solicited by William Gooding of the Fort Clinch State Park, Fernandina Beach, Florida 32034. The Regiment was stationed at the Fort in 1864, and material is being gathered for a museum exhibit.

Grants of up to $1,000 are offered to individuals and groups for new and useful plans to stir community interest in local history. The program is "Rediscover America." Applications involve a letter to explain the project, qualifications of project personnel, and a listing of other community support, plus financial and public interests. Applications should be sent to America the Beautiful, 219 Shoreham Building, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

The index to the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, covering the fifty-year history of the *Review*, is available. It is priced at $25.00 for individuals and $35.00 for institutions. Those interested should write to Dr. Richard S. Kirkendall, Executive Secretary, Organization of American Historians, Indiana University, 112 North Bryan Street, Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

The *Western Historical Quarterly* announces the Herbert Eugene Bolton Award in Spanish Borderlands History. A cash prize of $300 is awarded to the author of the best article submitted to the *Western Historical Quarterly* on any phase of the history of the Spanish Borderlands, that region reached by the northern thrust of the Spanish in North America, from the Floridas to the Californias, from the fifteenth century to the present day. The winning essay will be published in the *Western Historical Quarterly*. Manuscripts should be from 5,000 to 7,500 words, typewritten in conformity with the editorial style of the *Quarterly*, and submitted by September 1, 1974. Manuscripts should be sent to the *Quarterly*, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84322.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS. . . . . .

1974		
Sept. 12-15	Oral History Association	Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming
Sept. 25-28	American Association for State and Local History	Austin, Texas
Oct. 1-4	Society of American Archivists	Toronto, Ontario
Oct. 2-6	National Trust for Historic Preservation	Portland, Oregon
Nov. 6-9	Southern Historical Association	Dallas, Texas
Dec. 28-30	American Historical Association	Chicago, Illinois
1975		
March 21-22	Fourth Annual Florida Bicentennial Symposium	Tallahassee
May 9-10	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY– 73rd ANNUAL MEETING	Gainesville

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is $10; a fellow membership is $20. Special memberships of $50, $75, and $150 are also available. In addition, a life membership is $350, and a special memorial membership is available for $350. The latter guarantees delivery of the *Quarterly* for twenty-five years to a library or other institution.

Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Jay B. Dobkin, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquiries concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed to Mr. Dobkin.